AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

MONDAY, MAY 17, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 119

Old Animosities, Exploited Today, Underlie Complex Balkans Puzzle

By Lawrence J. Goodrich

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

As the likelihood grows that American forces will be directly involved in trying to restore the peace in the former Yugoslavia, many Americans are asking how the slaughter there began.

Unfortunately, what is happening today in the Balkans is nothing new. It is the continuation of the ethnic and religious hatreds that have swept the region for centuries, made worse by radical nationalists' cynical exploitation of these animosities.

The ethnic mixture of the Balkans began to form about the 5th century AD. Vast tribal migrations swept across Europe: Germanic tribes came west, followed by Slavs to their east. In succeeding centuries Magyars (Hungarians), Mongols, Tatars, and Bulgars ranged over the Balkans. Between Western and Eastern Europe, a great gulf developed. Rome had fallen, but the Roman Empire in the East, with its capital at Constantinople (Byzantium), lasted another 1,000 years. The Roman church without a state and the Byzantine church subservient to the emperor split over longstanding political and theological disputes. This chasm went right through the Balkans: Hungarians, Slovenes, and Croats were Roman Catholic, while Romanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, and Serbs were Eastern Orthodox.

All across Europe nation-states began to form around the most powerful tribes. But in the 14th and 15th centuries, a series of catastrophes struck the Balkans. First the Ottoman Turks defeated Serbia at the battle of Kosovo in 1389. Constantinople (now Istanbul) fell in 1453. By 1529 the Turks had fought their way to the gates of Vienna, which they besieged again in 1683. All political, cultural, and economic evolution in those parts of the Balkans under Turkish rule stopped under the oppression of the Turkish sultan.

For the next 400 years, the history of the Balkans was a history of rivalry among the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires. Croats, Slovenes, and Transylvanian Romanians lived under the influence of Vienna and Budapest. Romanians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Serbs, and some Albanians clung tenaciously to their Eastern Orthodox faith, which became entwined with their national aspirations. Most Albanians and some Slavs, however, converted to Islam.

The Balkan peasantry was kept impoverished as agricultural riches were shipped off to feed the Ottoman Empire. The Turks played off tribes, clans, and families against each other, poisoning the political culture.

See **BALKANS** *page 20*

Russian Economic Plan Falters

Yeltsin's referendum victory fails to aid anti-inflation fight and other reforms

By Daniel Sneider

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

IN the first heady days of victory after the April 25 referendum, Russia's young reformers were eagerly anticipating a rapid acceleration of the shift to a market economy.

In the halls of power, there was talk of sweeping out conservatives from the government, and even the return of the reform architect Yegor Gaidar who was ousted as prime minister by antireform forces last December. The reformers' main target was the removal of their nemesis, Central Bank chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, whom they blame for triggering massive inflation by pumping money into loss-making state-owned factories.

But instead of a boost to reform, the referendum has produced, at best, a new version of the stalemate of past months. Although a couple of conservatives have left, new ones have arrived, taking control of key areas of industrial policy and strengthening the wing of the government that favors continued subsidization of state-run industry and partial restoration of centralized management. Neither the government nor the central bank seem ready to pull tightly on the reins of spending and credit.

"Our failure to adopt resolute and complex measures in recent weeks endangers our feeble stability," Finance Minister Boris Fyodorov, the top reform figure in the Cabinet, wrote May 8 in Izvestia. "Actually we have already lost two weeks."

Mr. Fyodorov and his allies advocate a tough anti-inflation policy, including curbs on budget spending, ceilings on cheap credits handed out to industries and to former Soviet republics, and removing subsidized prices for coal, oil, and gas. Together, this would lead to a strengthening of the ruble's value, which continues to plummet. Finally they want an acceleration of privatization, moving beyond the successful sell-off of retail stores and small and medium-sized industries to the giant factories that are the core of the economy built in the Soviet era.

See **RUSSIA** *page 14*

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

BUYING PRODUCE IN MOSCOW: *Reformers are urging the Russian central bank to control inflation. The nub of the problem is government and central bank subsidies, which make up fully one-third of the economy.*

Congress to Boost Freedom of Religion

By Linda Feldmann

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THREE years after the Supreme Court struck a blow to the freedom of religious practice, Congress is set to restore that right to its previous level of protection.

The legislation, called the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, would require that the government have a "compelling interest" when restricting religious practices, such as the wearing of a particular garb or the rejection of some or all medical procedures.

Government limits on the free exercise of religion would also have to be carried out in the least-burdensome way possible, under the new law. **(Massachusetts child-abuse bill, Page 3.)**

The "compelling interest" standard had applied from 1963 to 1990, when the Supreme Court rejected two native American men's religiously motivated use of peyote, an illegal hallucinogen. That ruling, Employment Division v. Smith, has subsequently been cited in some 50 lower-court decisions limiting various religious practices.

The House of Representatives passed the bill unanimously May 11. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved it May 6, and the full Senate is expected to take it up late this month or in early June. President Clinton has promised to sign the bill.

"The Supreme Court's decision three years ago transformed a most-hallowed liberty into a mundane concept with little more status than a fishing license, thus subjecting religious freedom to the whims of government officials," said Rep. Jack Brooks (D) of Texas, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, on the House floor May 11.

Supporters of the bill maintain that it will not require courts to allow behavior

See **CONGRESS** *page 14*

South Florida Rebuilds

Hurricane damage offers a unique opportunity to redevelop with a focus on community.

9

NATIONAL

'Star Wars': New Name, Old Challenges

THE Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is no more. But its successor, the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, bears a striking resemblance to what SDI had become.

In announcing a reorganization of the program long nicknamed "Star Wars" last week, Secretary of Defense Les Aspin has simply recognized reality. In recent years President Reagan's dream of a defense against long-range missiles had been replaced by a more pragmatic Pentagon vision: Work on defense against tactical missiles, such as Saddam Hussein's Scuds.

A system capable of defending the US against long-range missiles was, and is, still a goal of SDI/BMDO work. Secretary Aspin says his best estimate is that the US has 10 years until some rogue nation is able to acquire both nuclear weapons and long-range missiles capable of hitting the continental US.

But the exotic laser and particle-beam weapons promoted by exuberant scientists in SDI's early years have proved something of a dream. They won't be ready until decades into the 21st century, if at all.

Thus the most significant actual change in Secretary Aspin's announcement was bureaucratic.

■ *Peter Grier reports from Washington.*

Clinton's radio address

President Clinton told Americans on Saturday that the "sea change" they voted for in November has begun, and said his economic plan is now moving speedily through Congress.

"We've made tough decisions, and now Congress is working with me to make them stick," Clinton said in his weekly radio address.

In his optimistic, upbeat address, Clinton did not mention his failed jobs bill or the troubles he is having reaching a consensus with Western allies on what to do to stop fighting in Bosnia. Instead, he stressed recent legislative successes – especially the House Ways and Means Committee's approval of his tax bill.

– Associated Press

TO OUR READERS

Beginning with today's edition, we have relocated two of the Monitor's regular features. You will now find the Events roundup on Page 20. The Monitor's editorials move from Page 20 to Page 18. We hope these changes will add to your enjoyment of the newspaper.

Leaders Claim Progress on GATT

Success said to pave way for breakthrough at July 7 Japan summit, but details scanty

By Mark Clayton
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

TORONTO

TRADE ministers from the world's leading industrial countries said that their meeting Friday to jump-start stalled world trade talks was a rousing success.

"We made significant progress," United States Trade Representative Mickey Kantor said following a day of talks with Japanese Trade Minister Yoshiro Mori; the European Community's new trade chief, Sir Leon Brittan; and Canadian Trade Minister Michael Wilson. "We've all agreed to strive for an ambitious package" of tariff cuts, Mr. Kantor said.

Canada's Wilson told reporters that progress in Toronto was due to "positive attitudes brought to this meeting." He predicted that momentum would build in a June 2 ministerial meeting in Paris and a June 24 meeting in Japan – pulling the rest of the world toward a global agreement.

Until last fall, however, the talks appeared in danger of failure because of a stalemate between the EC (specifically France) and the US over subsidies to farmers. That deadlock was partly resolved by a November US-EC agreement that allowed the Toronto talks to move beyond agriculture subsidies to market access and which tariffs should be lowered.

The world trade talks, known as the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, encompass 114 countries. But the four powers meeting in Toronto make up about 65 percent of world trade and are looked to by the world community to lead on trade issues.

Friday's meeting was considered key to paving the way for a breakthrough trade agreement at the July 7 summit of the G-7 countries in Japan, analysts said. There were also fears that without at least the appearance of strong progress in Toronto, the Clinton administration might have more trouble getting Congress to renew the fast-track legislation that expired in March, analysts say. The fast track is needed if Mr. Clinton is to meet the Dec. 15 deadline he has set for getting an overall trade agreement.

Without progress in Toronto, Clinton might have trouble getting Congress to renew the fast-track legislation.

"The concentration and intensification of these meetings against the backdrop of fast-track negotiations in the US gives me hope that we can get an overall agreement this year," Wilson said.

But while superlatives like "vision, flexibility, openness, and new momentum" were ladled out by Wilson, the Canadian host, very little specific evidence of progress was offered by any of the ministers.

Sir Leon, for example, said that last year "the talks were pretty dormant" but that he and Kantor earlier this year had put the GATT talks in "first gear." "We're at least now in top gear," he said.

But when ministers were asked what specifics the ministers saw as reason for such optimism when other trade talks victories had been proclaimed – followed by stalemate – he added: "If you draw up a score sheet after every round, that is not the way to make progress."

Responding to a question about whether Japan was offering significant concessions on rice imports and financial services in order to move the talks along, Kantor said: "We agreed not to discuss specific areas."

It was Mr. Mori, however, who offered reporters the only specific proposal discussed by the four that day. He said Japan had offered tariff reductions on 770 items, if Japan's trading partners would also offer their own concessions. The items included electronic goods, construction machinery, medical and scientific equipment, film, and rubber.

Despite the optimism, the sticky issue of agricultural subsidies has not been completely solved. French Premier Edouard Balladur issued a statement Thursday indicating his dissatisfaction with the November agricultural accord and threatened a veto. One conference official, however, noted that the French statement could be read in a positive way because, while it opposes the US-EC agreement, "at least it indicates the specifics of what they are unhappy about," he says. "Before they just didn't like the whole idea."

New Englanders, Canadians Weigh Trade

By David Mutch
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

STOWE, VT.

THE North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) continues to be a difficult issue for both United States and Canadian politicians, primarily because of uncertainty over how its wide-reaching provisions could affect jobs.

Those doubts became evident at a meeting last week of the Conference of New England Governors and the Eastern Canadian Premiers, where the assembled leaders expressed varying degrees of support for the trade treaty.

NAFTA, which would eliminate many trade barriers between Mexico, Canada, and the US over a 10-year period, was a leading topic at the group's 19th annual meeting, held Thursday and Friday.

Gov. William Weld (R) of Massachusetts, who chaired Friday's meeting, and Premier Robert Bourassa of Quebec both strongly endorsed NAFTA.

Mr. Weld, who has made numerous trips abroad to promote Massachusetts exports, said that the "internationalization of the economy is the most important economic fact in political life today." He said he sees good opportunities in NAFTA for the creation of "high-wage jobs" in his state through more exports.

Mr. Bourassa, leader of the Quebec Liberal Party, said, "I do not see how to avoid a fundamental mutation of economic life" through increasing trade. "This is not the 1960s or the 1970s," he continued, "when we faced unlimited prosperity – and could continue to increase deficits."

Gov. Howard Dean (D) of Vermont was less enthusiastic about NAFTA and said that the conference statement was crafted carefully to include varying views. Gov. Bruce Sundlun (D) of Rhode Island said there has been talk in his state of a large toy manufacturer possibly moving part of its operation to Mexico, thus cooling support for NAFTA.

Behind the uneven support for the trade deal was an obvious concern on the part of some of the elected officials about possible loss of jobs from increased competition, as well as uncertainty about the ultimate direction of the now open and revitalized Mexican economy – a market of 85 million people.

Mexico sees NAFTA as just one more element in a long succession of reforms, said Hermann von Bertrab, director of Mexico's NAFTA office in Washington.

NAFTA, now under active review in the national legislatures in each country, will go into effect Jan. 1, if approved by all three countries. It seems much more certain to pass in Mexico and Canada than in the US, although its supporters in the US maintain that it will eventually be approved by Congress, however narrowly.

Even though labor unions and other groups continue to oppose the trade treaty, the governors and premiers did not hear from any opponents of NAFTA. Instead, the group was carefully briefed by experts on the merits of NAFTA in a way that answered – or attempted to answer – most of the criticism against it.

One spokesman for NAFTA said that US companies have moved to Mexico to gain access to its market, not primarily for lower wages, and that when tariffs fall, through NAFTA, such moves will be much less attractive than in the past.

The Governors and Premiers Conference has worked for 20 years to remove barriers to economic cooperation in the Eastern Canada-New England region. The group did not meet in 1991, because of the fiscal crises in the New England states then, nor in 1992, because of the constitutional crisis in Canada.

Massachusetts Legislature Debates A Controversial Child-Abuse Bill

Critics argue bill is 'very scary' because its wording is too sweeping

By James H. Andrews
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

A BILL in the Massachusetts legislature to punish child abuse and neglect would inflict more harm on families than it would prevent, says a civil-liberties lawyer in the state.

Under the bill, which was passed by the state House of Representatives May 12 and may be debated in the state Senate as early as today, people convicted of child abuse or neglect resulting in serious injury or risk of death could be imprisoned for up to 20 years. A person who inflicts or allows another to inflict lesser harm on a child could be jailed for up to 10 years.

Proponents of the bill say that Massachusetts is the only state without a specific child-abuse law. The bill would provide a powerful tool to prosecutors, who now must rely on general assault statutes to convict child abusers, says a House aide who asked not to be identified. The law also stiffens the punishment for people who abuse or neglect children, the aide says.

But Eric Maxwell, a lawyer with the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, worries that the language of the bill is too vague, giving parents or other caretakers insufficient guidance about prohibited conduct. "It could be applied by district attorneys around the state in a very discretionary and arbitrary manner," he says. "It's very scary."

Mr. Maxwell adds that the proposed law, as currently worded, could be applied in situations "where social services are a better solution for families than criminal prosecutions."

Maxwell says: "I've seen the state intervene in situations when the results were very tragic for families" by pulling them apart.

The House approved the bill after rejecting an amendment proposed by state Rep. Byron Rushing (D) that would have provided a defense for any parent or other caretaker who, holding "sincere religious beliefs," relies on prayer rather than medicine to treat an ill child. The bill – which states that a "person who, having care and custody of a child, willfully or negligently permits serious bodily injury to a child" is guilty of a felony – potentially could be applied to Christian Scientists and others who rely on prayer for healing.

In debate on the House floor, opponents of the amendment cited the case of Robyn Twitchell, a Massachusetts toddler who died in 1986 from what was later diagnosed as a bowel obstruction caused by a birth defect. The child's parents, David and Ginger Twitchell, were convicted in 1990 of manslaughter because they engaged a Christian Science practitioner to heal the boy and a nurse to tend him, and did not take him to a hospital. Prosecutors in the case contended that surgery would have saved Robyn's life. (The Twitchells have appealed the verdict to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court.)

"Let's never again have a Twitchell case," Rep. Douglas Stoddard (R) said in the debate. "Let's send out a message loud and clear from this day forward to all Christian Scientists: 'Get your children to a doctor.' "

Opponents of the amendment denied that the proposed law, as applied to Christian Scientists and others who rely on prayer for healing, raises an issue of religious freedom. "An adult can choose prayer for treatment, but it's a different standard that comes into play with children," said Rep. John McDonough (D).

"We are faced with a difficult issue when a state mandates medical treatment for a dangerously ill child over the religious objections of the parents," said Rep. Joseph McIntyre (D), chairman of the House Criminal Justice Committee. "We conclude that the interest of the child and the state outweigh parents' rights to refuse [medical] treatment."

Christian Scientists disagree, however. "The practice of healing is a vital element of our religion," says Victor Westberg, the spokesman for The First Church of Christ, Scientist. "If that right is cut off, it infringes on the practice of our religion."

"Over 130 years, Christian Scientists have had an excellent track record" in caring for their children, Mr. Westberg says. "Our record is at least as good as medicine's. We do not endanger our children."

Stephen Lyons, one of the lawyers who defended the Twitchells, says the bill, as now worded, "totally reads the rights of religious minorities out of the law." In deciding whether a parent or other caretaker "willfully or negligently permit[ted] seriously bodily injury to a child," jurors will "take the national average," Mr. Lyons says.

"The reasonableness of parents' conduct in connection with their children's health will be judged on an objective standard, not a subjective one," Lyons explains. Laws like this "try to homogenize society, but we're a pluralistic society," he says.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE

BAY STATE CAPITOL: *House lawmakers rejected bid to exempt spiritual healing from bill.*

Conservative Republicans Call for 'Culture War'

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

HAS America lost its moral compass?

The evidence, conservatives say, is all around. Vulgar, violent movies. Television rife with promiscuous sex. Schools without values. Broken homes. Widespread abortion. Growing contempt for American culture.

Alarmed, conservatives call for a "culture war" to put America back on track. They charge that Hollywood producers, Washington liberals, and self-serving educators are dragging the United States toward an ignoble end.

A number of conservative Republicans say that moral and social issues could form the foundation for a rejuvenated GOP, which could soon take back the White House and Congress.

"Culture is the Ho Chi Minh Trail to power" for conservatives, says commentator Patrick Buchanan. "We can win this war, even as we won the cold war," he says.

Citing examples of "anti-Christian art" and "schlock sculpture," Mr. Buchanan wants to "depollute and detoxify the culture so that Middle America can again drink freely from it and be nurtured and enriched, not nauseated and poisoned."

About 300 conservatives rallied over the weekend, at Buchanan's behest, to hear speakers beat up on Hollywood, TV network executives, the National Education Association, and timid religious leaders who shrink from battle with the purveyors of immorality.

Dr. Mary Kay Clark, a leader in the home-school movement, told the group that in recent years, the public schools have become "the training camp of the enemy" of high moral values.

Movie critic Michael Medved, author of "Hollwood vs. America," claimed that many leaders of the motion-picture industry "are embarrassed by their own work." He scoffed at the popular notion that Hollywood merely gives Americans what they want. Even though Hollywood makes mostly profanity-filled "R"-rated movies, "PG" movies actually earn more money, per show, by a ratio of $3 to $1.

As for television's corrupting influence on children, Mr. Medved says there is an easy solution for parents: Turn it off. He notes that the typical American watches 28.5 hours of TV per week, which for someone who lives to be 78 years old would amount to 13 years of watching television.

Conservatives like Buchanan want moral issues at the top of the political agenda. He has opposed expanded rights for homosexuals. He favors school choice, including federal funding for parochial schools. He wants the Republican Party to fight abortion.

The social agenda makes some Republicans uneasy, however. Sen. Alan Simpson (R) of Wyoming notes: "I've been pro-choice [on abortion] forever." Abortion is so "deeply personal" that "it does not belong in the public domain." Nor does he think men should be telling women what to do on this difficult question.

Rep. David Dreier (R) of California would like to see conservatives put their primary emphasis on economic, not social, issues. He explains: "With the diversity amongst Republicans, it would seem to me the basis upon which we should build our party's platform should be the issues of economic growth, fiscal responsibility, and individual initiative and responsibility."

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

PATRICK BUCHANAN: *GOP commentator sees the cleaning up of American culture as the 'Ho Chi Minh Trail to power' for conservatives.*

INTERNATIONAL

Recent seizures of boatloads of immigrants highlight smugglers' use of Mexican and Central American routes

Chinese Seek Illegal Entry To US on Well-Worn Paths

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

THREE boatloads of Chinese citizens captured in recent weeks trying to sneak into the United States are the failed fruits of several Asian smuggling rings, US and Mexican immigration officials say.

"They were bringing them in through Mexico and Central America by plane," Verne Jervis, a spokesman for the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) says.

"Now, they've turned to boats. We've caught roughly 12 ships with 1,500 people in the last two years," Mr. Jervis says. But he estimates only half of these illegal immigrants are being caught.

The recent apprehensions include:

■ April 30 – Mexican officials, alerted by neighbors, found some 300 Chinese crammed into a "safe house" and an adjacent trailer in Ensenada, a town about 60 miles south of the US border.

■ May 11 – a Honduran-registered ship returned to the port of La Ceiba, Honduras, with 236 illegal Chinese immigrants. The ship, "Mermaid 1" was captured by the US Coast Guard off the Florida coast on April 21.

■ May 12 – the US Coast Guard towed a boat with 199 undocumented Chinese immigrants into San Diego Harbor.

But the tide has not yet turned on this immigrant flow.

"We have reports of more ships at sea, and ships being outfitted. It will continue," predicts Jervis, "until we find a way to stop it."

'It's going to take international cooperation to stop this [flow of illegal Chinese immigrants].'

– Verne Jervis, spokesman for the US Immigration and Naturalization Services

Authorities are primarily up against Chinese smuggling syndicates – based in the US – which are generating some $3 billion a year in revenues.

Many of the immigrants are coming from the poor Chinese province of Fujian. Most are looking for work and better lives in the US. They are charged $20,000 to $30,000 for safe passage to the US, say immigration officials. Those who cannot raise the money from relatives in the US must pay off their debts upon arrival, often working as indentured servants in US businesses run by crime syndicates.

Mexican officials say they have captured or seen several groups of Chinese near the US-Mexico border near Tijuana, using routes favored by Mexican illegal immigrants.

Last month, for the first time, five Mexicans were arrested for smuggling Chinese in, along with the 300 Chinese caught in Ensenada, on the Baja California coast of Mexico.

But the Baja coast is not the only route used. Taking advantage of routes well-worn by Central Americans seeking to enter the US without documentation, Guatemalan officials report a sharp rise in the number of Asians passing illegally through their territory. US officials say two ships full of Chinese citizens were picked up off the East coast of the US last year, too.

Immigration officials are attempting to discourage ships from smuggling human cargoes by aggressively prosecuting captains and crews when they are captured.

A meeting was held in Washington recently between several nations trying to develop a solution. "It's going to take international cooperation to stop this," Jervis from INS says.

US officials praise the cooperation they are getting from Mexico and the way Honduras has handled the case involving a Honduran-registered vessel.

The Chinese immigrants are being deported. On May 11, Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas asked the national legislature to pass stricter laws and stiffen penalties for Honduran-registered ships trafficking in illegal immigrants.

But José Luis Pérez, the Baja California state human rights prosecutor, is calling for further investigation. He suspects the smuggling network is linked to corrupt Mexican officials. "It is not possible to accept the idea that hundreds of Chinese can enter the state without the authorities knowing it," Mr. Pérez says.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

Manager: Al M. Carnesciali
Chief Operating Officer/Print: Miles M. Harbur
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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.
SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.
Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.
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POSTMASTER/ADDRESS CHANGES: Send to The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA, 50340-1202. Phone 1-800-456-2220. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England. Phone: 081-543-9393.

Turkey's New President Signals Subtle Shift in Style

By Sami Kohen
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ISTANBUL

TURKEY'S late president, Turgut Ozal, had a great dream: to make Turkey the central power in a region stretching from the Balkans to Central Asia, or in his own words, "from the Adriatic to the China Wall."

If that grand vision lost its champion last month when Ozal died, the election yesterday of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel as president – a mostly ceremonial role – suggests that Turkey will continue to extend its influence across the region.

But analysts worry that a certain momentum has been lost.

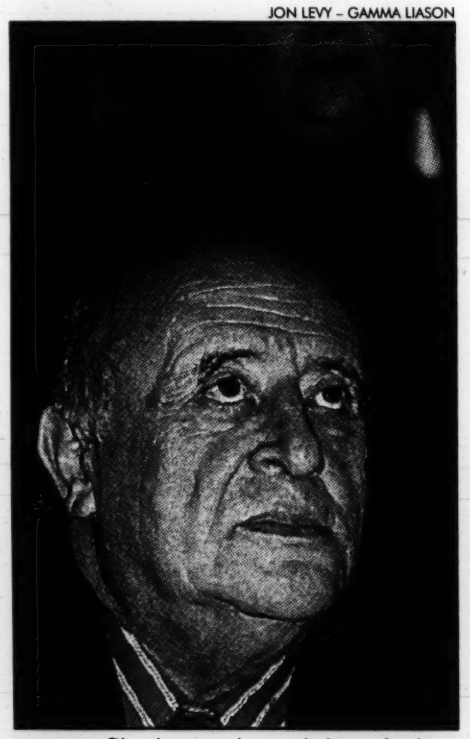
"Ozal was different," says Prof. Ilter Turan, a noted political scientist. "He had a strong personality, charisma, and creativeness. On foreign affairs, he had vision and looked ahead to the year 2000, taking into account the new trends in world politics."

"Demirel certainly is not the kind of leader to pursue this kind of vision," adds journalist Cengiz Candar.

With the ebb of Soviet influence, Ozal sought vigorously to broaden Turkey's role in both regional conflicts and economic development. He traveled to the Balkans and the five Turkic republics of Central Asia.

He advocated prompt Turkish military action to halt the war in Bosnia and military maneuvers along Turkey's border to check Armenian attacks against Azerbaijan.

JON LEVY – GAMMA LIASON



DEMIREL: *Six times prime minister, he is seen as more cautious in foreign policy than was his predecessor, Turgut Ozal.*

In a trip to the former Soviet republics of Central Asia last month, Ozal presented a blueprint for a vast region linked by highways, railroads, oil and gas pipelines, telecommunication systems, and close trade and cultural relations.

Mr. Demirel, who has served as prime minister six times, is more cautious. He disagreed with Ozal's view that "calculated risks should be taken in foreign policy" or that "a country that aspires to be a great regional power should think big and have guts."

On Bosnia, Demirel's government acted in accord with the international community and UN resolutions (although Ankara has been pressing for limited joint military intervention). On the Armenian-Azeri conflict, he has worked in coordination with the United States and Russia to persuade the two sides to seek a negotiated settlement.

As for economic ties with the Turkic world, Turkey under Demirel granted $1.1 billion in credits to the Central Asian republics. The Turks are negotiating with Kazakhstan a project that would extend an oil pipeline from Baku, Azerbaijan, to Turkey's Mediterranean port of Iskenderun. A similar project for gas from Turkmenistan is under discussion.

Demirel's pace may be more agreeable than Ozal's to Turkey's businessmen, who are quite active in investing in various fields, from textile to telecommunications, hotels to airports. A Turkish banker accompanying Ozal noted Turkey cannot go beyond its limits in granting assistance to these republics "just for the sake of appearing in the role of a regional power."

With the prime minister's office now open, Turkey's domestic politics will overshadow foreign policy. Demirel's succession leaves a leadership vacuum in his True Path Party, which will elect a new chairman next month. Parliament speaker Husamettin Cindoruk is the strongest candidate for that post, putting him in position to be named prime minister. For now, Demirel's deputy, Erdal Inonu, will act as prime minister.

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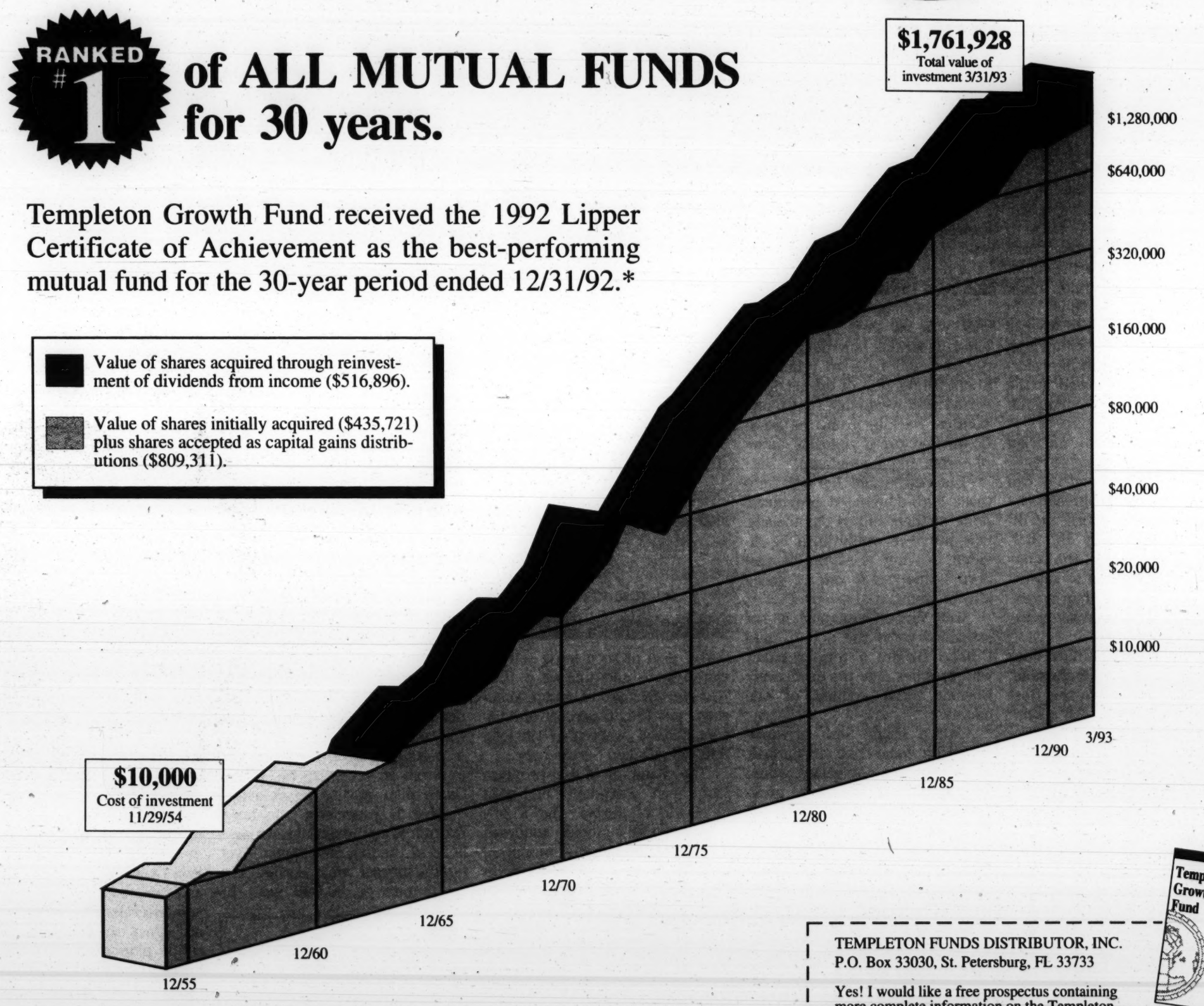

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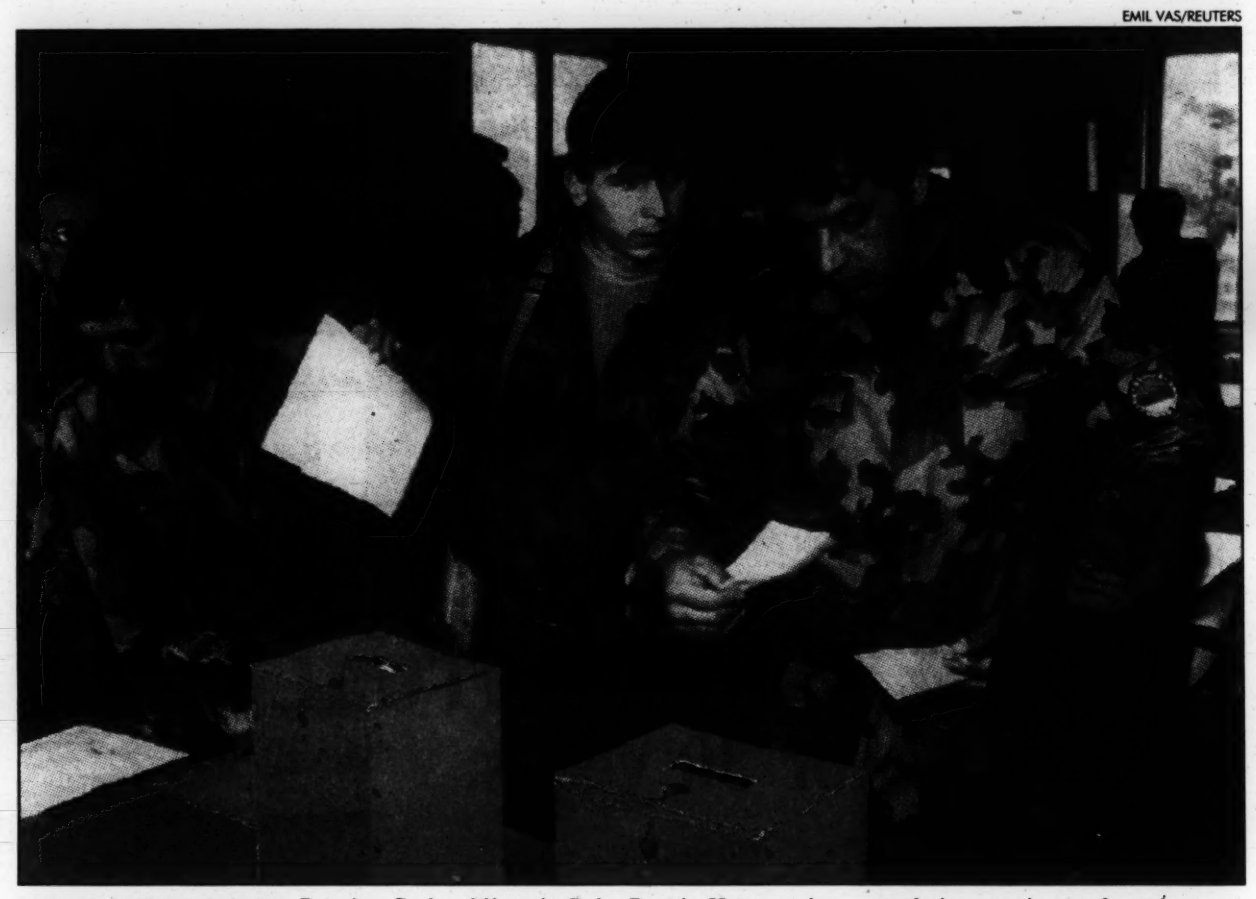
Serbs in Bosnia Vote on UN Plan To End Fighting

Most say they voted "no" because Serbs would be unfairly divided by the peace map

EMIL VAS/REUTERS



DEFYING OUTSIDE PRESSURE: *Bosnian Serb soldiers in Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, cast their votes in a referendum on the international peace plan. The poll was held despite strong opposition to it from the international community.*

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ZVORNIK, BOSNIA

ZORAN LUKIC has never read the international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The first copy he saw of the proposed map dividing the former Yugoslav republic into 10 semi-autonomous provinces was the one placed before the ballot boxes in a polling station here.

Nevertheless, the 18-year-old soldier added his vote to what is expected to be an overwhelming rejection of the plan in the referendum held this weekend in the 70 percent of Bosnia conquered by Bosnian Serb forces.

The referendum has no legal basis. The exact number of registered voters is not known, nor can the veracity of the final results be guaranteed. Furthermore, the international community and Belgrade have denounced the referendum as pointless in a country eviscerated by more than a year of strife that has claimed in excess of 100,000 lives.

But the poll has assumed considerable political significance, because it will provide the Bosnian Serb leadership with a symbolic vote of confidence for its rejection of the peace plan. It also represents yet another show of disdain for the massive pressure that the international community and Belgrade have brought to bear on the Bosnian Serbs.

"Let there be military intervention. We will fight as long as we can," said Mr. Lukic, whose dull eyes reflected the strain of the frontlines on which he has served since his family was ousted from its home in the central town of Bugojno by Croats last year. "We don't like the plan because of the way they have separated Serbian territory. How can someone from outside give away something that is not theirs?"

Like Lukic, most voters interviewed outside polling stations said they had not read the complex plan written by Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

But they studied the map and that was all they needed: The chart illustrates how the Bosnian Serbs would have to relinquish about 30 percent of the territory seized with weaponry, funds, and political backing from the Serb-dominated rump Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro.

The rest would be split into three Serb-dominated provinces, none of them linked territorially. One province would itself be divided, leaving a small Bosnian Serb island inside one of three Muslim-dominated provinces.

"The Vance-Owen plan is not satisfactory for the Serbs," said Branko Grujic, a former baker who presides over the exclusively Bosnian Serb council of the county.

"Not a single Serb province would be connected; 46 percent of the Serbian population would remain outside Serbian provinces. About 80 percent of all roads, industry, economic, and mineral resources would be in Muslim provinces, while we would remain in the field playing soccer," he said.

"I think this was done on purpose, to bunch the Serbs into little enclaves and not allow them to live in a single state."

In that, Mr. Grujic is partially correct. The peace plan was designed to block the Bosnian Serbs' goal of securing a self-declared state and joining it to a "Greater Serbia" of rump Yugoslavia and the 35 percent of adjacent Croatia overrun in 1991 by Belgrade-backed Serb rebels.

'I don't like living in another person's house. But we cannot live together.'

– Bosnian Serb in a house 'cleansed' of Muslims

The champion of that program had been President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia. But a few weeks ago he suddenly endorsed the peace plan amid mounting threats of military intervention in Bosnia and new pressure from tighter economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations.

Mr. Milosevic orchestrated a rubber-stamp vote Friday at a gathering in Belgrade of the Yugoslav Parliament and the assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro calling on the Bosnian Serbs to sign the plan and abandon the referendum.

The vote had no effect. The Bosnian Serbs boycotted the so-called "All-Serb Assembly," along with their supporters from Croatia. Ultranationalist parties from Serbia and Montenegro walked out of the gathering.

To keep its program alive in the face of Belgrade's about-face, the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament included a second question in the referendum asking voters if they wanted an independent state that could merge with neighboring states. That was as certain to be approved as the question on accepting the Vance-Owen plan was to be defeated.

That is especially true here. Zvornik is an industrial town on a bend of the beautiful Drina River on the border with Serbia. The community of 80,000 was the second town the Bosnian Serbs targeted. Serbian Tigers, a ruthless Belgrade-based paramilitary band led by Zeljko Raznatovic, a suspected war criminal, first shelled Zvornik with guns deployed on Serbia's side of the Drina. Unknown numbers of Zvornik's 50,000 Muslims – once the majority here – were killed subsequently in an assault by Mr. Raznatovic's Yugoslav Army-controlled fighters. The rest were herded out of Zvornik in house-to-house ethnic cleansing.

Since then, about 20,000 Serbian refugees uprooted from Muslim- and Croat-dominated areas have settled in Zvornik, moving into the bullet-pocked houses that once belonged to the Muslims.

But Vance-Owen would reverse those gains, placing Zvornik in a province designated as Muslim-dominated. Most of the refugees who have settled here would have to return to areas dominated by their enemies.

"If they force us to return this house, we will. But will they give us our own house back?" asked Vela Lalavic, a Bosnian Serb who was driven with her four children and two relatives from the northern town of Kalesija, which the peace plan places in a Muslim-dominated province.

"If my home was in Serbian territory, I would not need this home," she said as her children clustered about her. "I don't like living in another person's house. But we cannot live together. I will vote against the plan."

Jovan Bosnjakovic, an economist at a local factory who was supervising a polling station, says that most Bosnian Serbs here share Ms. Lalvic's opinion.

"This town would go back to the Muslims. There are many people who would leave. But there are others who are not going to leave, and there would be a great slaughter here," he warned.

Saudis Detain Human Rights Advocate

NICOSIA, CYPRUS

THE head of Saudi Arabia's first human rights group said Saturday his son, who acted as a spokesman for the group, had been arrested.

The Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights has been denounced by the authorities as illegal.

Sheik Abdullah al-Masaari said by telephone from Riyadh that his son Muhammad was taken by security agents from his home at 2:30 a.m. Saturday.

The London-based Liberty human rights group said the younger al-Masaari was "detained and taken to an unknown detention center, and all books, papers, documents, correspondence and publications in his house were collected and seized by the security forces."

Sheik Abdullah said that he and another member of the group had been called in by the Interior Ministry on Saturday for questioning concerning the formation of the committee.

The detention of Muhammad al-Masaari was the latest step in a swift government clampdown on the group, apparently seen as a challenge to the authority of the ruling royal dynasty and religious establishment.

Last week authorities fired group members who held government or university jobs and suspended the licenses of two of them, who are lawyers.

Authorities confiscated the US passport of Mr. al-Masaari's American wife for undisclosed reasons, but she remained free, relatives said. The US Embassy refused comment on the case.

Saudi Interior Minister Prince Nayef, in an interview with the London-based Middle East Broadcasting Corp. aired Friday night, said his country respects human rights because of its adherence to Islamic law.

– Compiled from wires

President seeks new Russian constitution and wins the approval of the Commonwealth of Independent States to explore economic union

Yeltsin Moves to Consolidate Position at Home and in Region

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

RUSSIAN President Boris Yeltsin is hoping a flurry of political initiatives will bring stability not only to Russia, but to other former Soviet republics as well.

In recent days, Mr. Yeltsin has accelerated his drive for a new constitution, which he says is necessary for Russia's continued transformation into a market democracy.

And in trying to smooth the way for his domestic agenda, Yeltsin has also met initial success in addressing economic and political problems on Russia's borders. He has won a pledge from other former Soviet republics, now grouped in the Commonwealth of Independent States, to explore the formation of an economic union. In addition, a summit meeting with Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze produced a commitment to seek a cease-fire in Georgia's civil war.

Yeltsin's political offensive has caused rifts among his domestic opponents, but the president's ability to achieve a breakthrough is nevertheless far from assured.

His harshest critics, particularly Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, continue to fight a rear guard action, denouncing the president's moves as a disguised attempt to reintroduce an authoritarian regime in Russia.

"Everything is being done to distract attention from their own failings, helplessness, and errors in domestic and external policy," Mr. Khasbulatov said at a press luncheon on Saturday.

Since his policies won popular backing in the April 25 referendum, Yeltsin has sought to overcome parliament's opposition to his reforms by introducing a new Basic Law that gives the chief executive sweeping powers at the expense of the legislative branch's authority.

Bypass parliament

To promulgate such a constitution, the president wants to convene on a Constituent Assembly June 5, which would comprise representatives from all Russian regions. The assembly would finalize the wording of, and possibly adopt, the new constitution by the end of June. Such a move would circumvent the Congress of People's Deputies – the highest body of power under the acting Basic Law, which was adopted during the Soviet era.

Parliament leaders are promoting their own draft for a new constitution, featuring an executive branch with significantly less power than that proposed in Yeltsin's document.

With the existence of two draft constitutions, the political battle between executive and legislative authority has entered a "race of nerves," says Sergei Shakhrai, the president's point man on constitutional reforms.

And it would appear that some parliamentary leaders are starting to flinch. Over the weekend, the opposition suffered a blow when Deputy Parliament Speaker Nikolai Ryabov, an important figure in the anti-Yeltsin coalition, defected to the president's side. Speaking May 14 in Parliament, Mr. Ryabov said a Constituent Assembly was "justified," the Tass news agency reported.

Mr. Khasbulatov played down Ryabov's surprise action, saying differences of opinion had always existed among legislative leaders.

At the same time, he said the adoption of a new constitution "may lead to the final collapse of the Russian Federation."

"And that means that those nuclear, biological, chemical, and other types of weapons that are very dangerous to the environment and to other nations may end up out of control," Khasbulatov added.

The parliament, meanwhile, wants Russia's Constitutional Court to rule on the legality of Yeltsin's action plan. Court Chairman Valery Zorkin has implied that convening a Constituent Assembly to adopt a new constitution would violate the law.

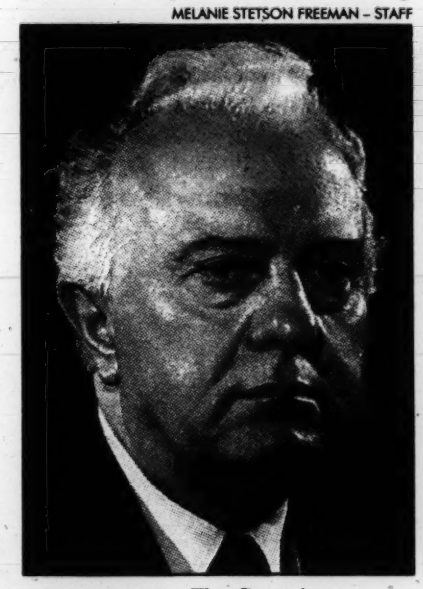
Yeltsin, however, is concentrating on his agenda.

Following a May 14 meeting in Moscow, Yeltsin hailed the decision of most Commonwealth leaders to pursue an economic union, calling it a "kind of turning point in the life of the Commonwealth."

Economic union

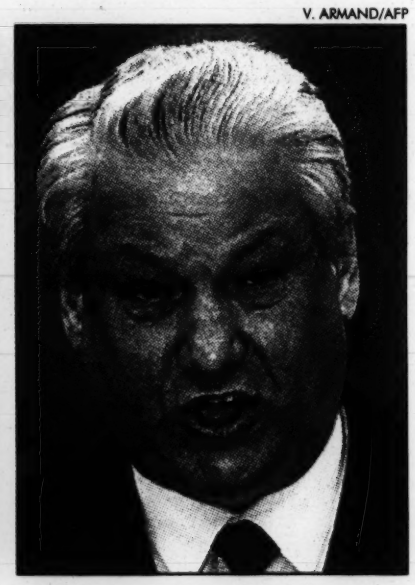
A stronger Commonwealth would facilitate economic recovery, which in turn could diminish the opposition to Russia's reforms, Yeltsin's aides say. But the economic integration plan still must clear some hurdles.

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN – STAFF



SHEVARDNADZE: *The Georgian president has agreed to seek a cease-fire with Abkhazian rebels.*

V. ARMAND/AFP



YELTSIN: *Russia's president hopes that quelling problems on his borders will ease tension at home.*

For one, the Central Asian nation of Turkmenistan refused to sign the declaration. In addition, some former Soviet republics, especially Ukraine, remain suspicious of Russia, fearing the plan is an attempt to reform the Russian empire. Yeltsin went out of his way to dispel such a notion.

"We are for rapprochement, but not through force, not through *diktat*, but on a voluntary basis," he said.

In a similar spirit, the Russian president in his Friday meeting with Mr. Shevardnadze sought to ease tension in Russian-Georgian relations.

Many Georgian officials claim the Russian Army is backing rebels fighting Georgian government forces in the Black Sea region of Abkhazia.

After the meeting, Yeltsin and Shevardnadze announced their intention to work for a cease-fire in Abkhazia starting May 20. They also agreed to establish a working-group that would lay the groundwork for a bilateral treaty, which the two sides hope to complete by mid-June.

Politicians Entice Danes to Vote 'Yes'

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PARIS

THE Danish government is promising a major income tax reform, including substantial tax relief for the middle class – but only if the Danish people reverse last year's decision and vote tomorrow to approve the European Community's Maastricht Treaty.

And just in case that is not enough enticement, Lego, the homegrown plastic building-block maker that is one of Denmark's best known exporters, is threatening to shift some of its production to a more "stable" European country if tomorrow's response is a second "no."

With carrots like these to chew, Danish voters appear ready to say "yes" to the treaty to create a closer European monetary and political union. After a brief rise in "no" support, weekend polls showed those intending to vote "yes" climbing back up to 50 percent, with the "no" vote dipping back down to 32 percent.

But surveys probing beyond the simple "yes" or "no" intentions should provide European leaders with much to contemplate long after the Danes' anticipated approval makes Denmark the 11th of the 12 EC countries to ratify the bruised and tired treaty. Britain is still embroiled in parliamentary debate on ratification.

What the surveys show is even more hostility to the Maastricht program than a year ago. At the same time, however, a majority of Danes are satisfied with the special "opt-outs" that EC members granted Denmark after its June 1992 rejection of the treaty. Those will allow Denmark to stand outside an eventual single EC currency, common European defense, police cooperation, and European citizenship.

The Danish Maastricht campaign gives an indication of the low public standing of the European integration process.

First, campaign arguments have focused more on the negative economic impact for Denmark of a "no" than on the merits of deeper European union.

Second, the campaign has placed a kind of gag order on EC leaders: Remembering how non-Danish comments on Maastricht's "federal" ambitions turned off a crucial percentage of voters in the first referendum, European officials have been careful to stay out of the debate this time and to keep to a minimum new policy proposals out of EC headquarters in Brussels.

Remembering how non-Danish comments on Maastricht turned off voters in the first referendum, European officials have been careful to stay out of the debate this time.

EC Commission President Jacques Delors was uncharacteristically mute during an April visit to Denmark, and even went so far as to close to the press a recent speech on the future of European integration – even though the speech was to a convention in faraway Aix-en-Provence, France.

Despite the caution, when Martin Bangemann, EC commissioner for industry, said in a recent Wall Street Journal interview that Maastricht could still serve as the basis for a federal Europe, polls showed the "no" support in Denmark taking an immediate spurt. "It shows the jumpiness of the Danish voters," says Ben Skou, director of the International Press Center in Copenhagen.

Leaders of the "no" campaign have been accused of secretly wishing to see Denmark drop out of the EC altogether. Some of this group have called on Denmark to reject Maastricht in favor of closer links with other Nordic countries and of a Western Europe more open to the struggling democracies of Eastern Europe.

But polls show that a clear majority of Danes – about 70 percent – want Denmark inside the EC. They seek a single market that promotes Europe's free-market direction, with more cooperation in such issues as the environment, but where the Community's tendency toward centralized government is reversed.

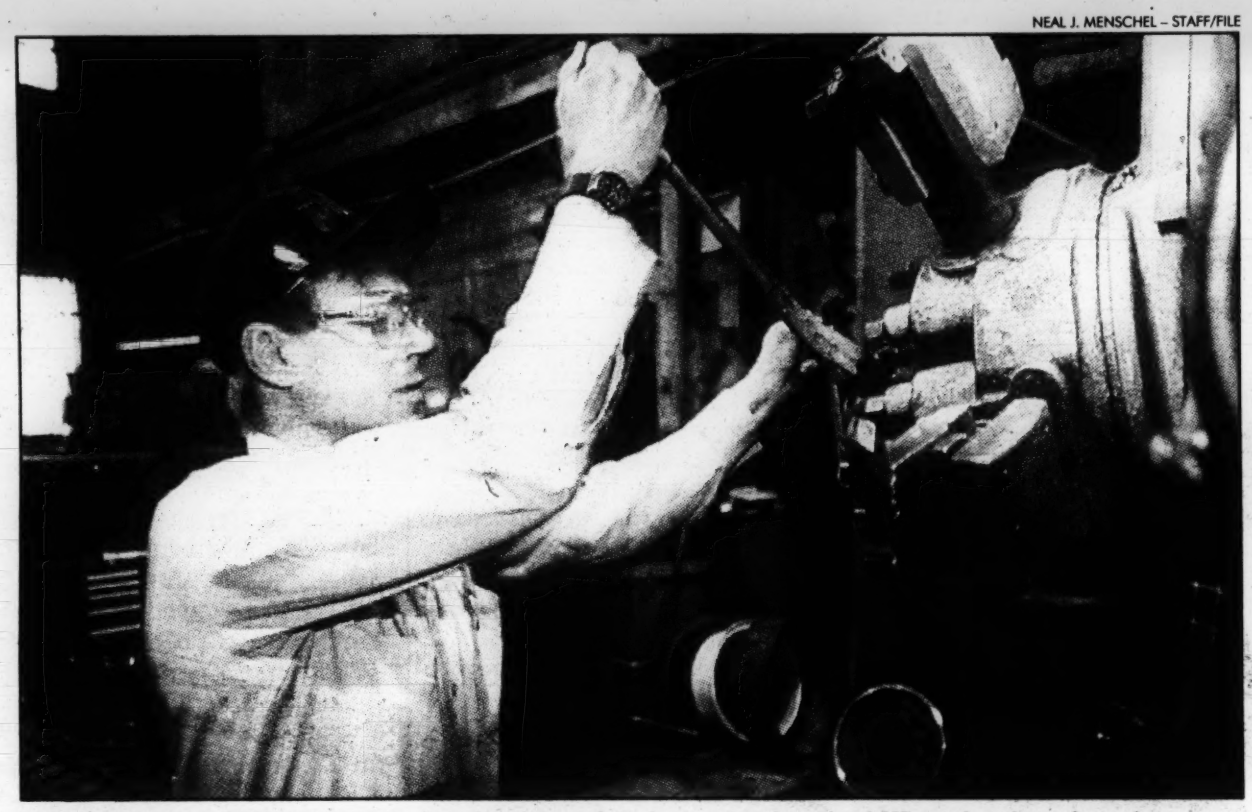
Even if they do say "yes" this time, the upheaval the Danes caused with their first "no" vote, and the brake it placed on European union, seem to have already given the Danes some of what they want.

ECONOMY

US Manufacturers Regain Strength

Job losses continue, but after years on the ropes many firms are holding their own

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF/FILE



MAKING TIRE RIMS FOR TRUCKS, DETROIT: *American carmakers have recently gained US market share from the Japanese. In general, US factories 'no longer feel inferior,' says Keith McKee of Illinois Institute of Technology.*

By Laurent Belsie
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PITTSBURGH

IT sounds like the plot of a low-budget movie. A small manufacturing company teeters on the brink of failure. The grandson of the company founder leaves his job as an English professor, takes over, and with the help of his brother and computer-smart mother, he turns around the company.

It's no movie, though. By reengineering the workplace and reducing inventories, George Wendt has turned Chicago Metal Rolled Products Company into a profitable small manufacturer. "We are having a ball running it," says the youthful Mr. Wendt.

Having a ball? In American manufacturing? Something must be changing.

Three years ago, Andrew Grove was a gloomy man. As chief executive of semiconductor giant Intel Corporation, he predicted the United States would become a technological colony of Japan. Today, he is more upbeat.

"The decline has stopped," he says. The personal computer industry "remained resolutely US-based.... We have all drawn our lines and dug ourselves in for the foreseeable future."

These mood changes are important. The gloom that once pervaded just about all American manufacturing is lifting on many factory floors. It's still not clear that US manufacturers have turned a corner. The sector is so diverse that for every bright spot there's an industry in trouble. Factory employment has dipped lately. No one believes it will ever regain the importance it held in the 1950s and 1960s.

The difference is that after years of decline, many American manufacturers feel they can hold their own against foreign rivals.

"There was a time a few years ago that every manufacturing company felt they were in trouble – even when they were doing well they thought it was only a matter of time" before foreign competition would gobble them up, says Keith McKee, director of the Manufacturing Productivity Center on the campus of the Illinois Institute of Technology. Today, "that's changed noticeably. They no longer feel inferior."

High-tech comeback

Take wafer fabrication equipment – the machines that make computer chips. After years of decline, US companies are staging a major comeback. They moved from 34 percent of the world market in 1991 to 42 percent last year. Japan's share went down during the same period: 55 percent to 47 percent.

Semiconductor makers have also made a few gains. "We went from being fully dominant to a state of precipitous decline to a state of being flat to a state of slowly chipping our way back a point at a time," says T. J. Rodgers, head of Cypress Semiconductor Corporation. "And that's what I see in the future. We can beat 'em [the Japanese], but we are talking trench warfare."

Even Japanese automakers appear less dangerous than they used to. Japan's share of the US car and light truck market peaked at 26 percent in 1991. Last year it was down to 22 percent. This year the erosion continues. Industry analyst David Cole foresees a long stalemate where Detroit will stand its ground.

The new optimism may turn out to be wrong.

"What's happening is one of my biggest fears," says George Fisher, chairman of Motorola. "The alarm tends to go away as the economy recovers. They [companies] are not going to spend time on the underlying weaknesses."

"It's the illusion of the high yen, low dollar," adds Bennett Harrison, professor of political economy at Carnegie Mellon University. "American companies are still not doing that well."

It was Mr. Harrison, along with scholar Barry Bluestone, who coined the term "deindustrialization" to describe the decline of US manufacturing in the 1980s. Harrison says that process is still under way. Although US companies have improved the quality of their products, Harrison says they have not addressed the other shortcomings that he and Mr. Bluestone pointed out a decade ago: worker training, collaboration, and strategic thinking.

Exports certainly have brightened the manufacturing picture in the short term. From 1985 to 1992, the top five US manufactured exports grew on average twice as fast as the top five US manufactured imports, according to the US Commerce Department. If the Japanese and European markets continue to slow down, then the market for US goods will probably slow down too.

Vanishing defense jobs

Defense cuts could throw manufacturing for another loop. A Labor Department economist estimates that if President Clinton's proposed defense cuts are carried out, 594,000 out of a total of 18 million manufacturing jobs will disappear between now and 1997. About 450,000 defense-related manufacturing jobs have been lost in the past five years.

Also, no American manufacturer is writing off the Japanese.

"I've watched the Japanese adapt to fire, flood, and earthquake," says Ed Sack, chief executive officer of Zilog, a chip manufacturer in Campbell, Calif. "They will adjust to the lower dollar-to-yen ratio."

But Douglas Ostrom, senior economist at the Japan Economic Institute, is not so sure. "The Japanese companies are making a lot less money in Japan than they used to," he says. With domestic profits down and their protected market under attack, the companies will be much harder pressed, he adds. The nonprofit research institute is funded by the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

So maybe, finally, the US is putting the brakes on its long skid in manufacturing. "It's not that things got better," says Steven Davis, associate professor at the University of Chicago's graduate business school. "It's just that they're not getting worse."

SOME GOOD NEWS FROM A REVIVED GOODYEAR

BOSTON

■ Stanley Gault has now worked wonders for two household-name manufacturing companies: Rubbermaid Inc. and Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company.

As chairman and chief executive officer of Goodyear since 1991, Mr. Gault has cut the company's $3.7 billion debt nearly in half, increased worldwide sales, and inspired a resurgence in the morale of his 93,000 "associates," as he calls his employees.

"Despite tremendous adversity, American industry has responded with better quality, better costs, and higher customer satisfaction," says Gault, who was in Boston to address a CEO Breakfast Forum hosted by Northeastern University's business school.

At Goodyear, the wake-up call came in 1990 when the company recorded its first loss in 58 years. Foreign competitors gobbled up a number of United States tire companies and pushed Goodyear out of the first-place position it had held since 1916. So the company trimmed its work force 13 percent, introduced a flurry of new products, and increased efficiency. In less than three years, Goodyear's stock market value has quintupled.

"It is imperative that this nation have a revitalization of manufacturing," Gault says. "Good-paying manufacturing jobs ... [bring] good buying customers for all of our products and services."

As he looks at the overall US economy, Gault's first priority is controlling the national debt. He learned the dangers of debt at Goodyear, which was paying more than $1 million a day in interest costs when Gault took the reins. "Debt has a seven-day work week," he says. "We cannot continue to drain away the financial strength" of the US.

In addition to burdens of litigation and regulation, health-care costs are "putting American firms at a severe and growing disadvantage compared to their competitors in countries such as Japan and Germany where per capita health-care costs are less than half of ours," Gault says.

Goodyear's major competitors include Bridgestone of Japan, Continental of Germany, and Michelin of France. These firms operate "under tax systems which either openly or in a concealed fashion have tax considerations or certain incentives for exports that we do not have," Gault says.

– David C. Walters

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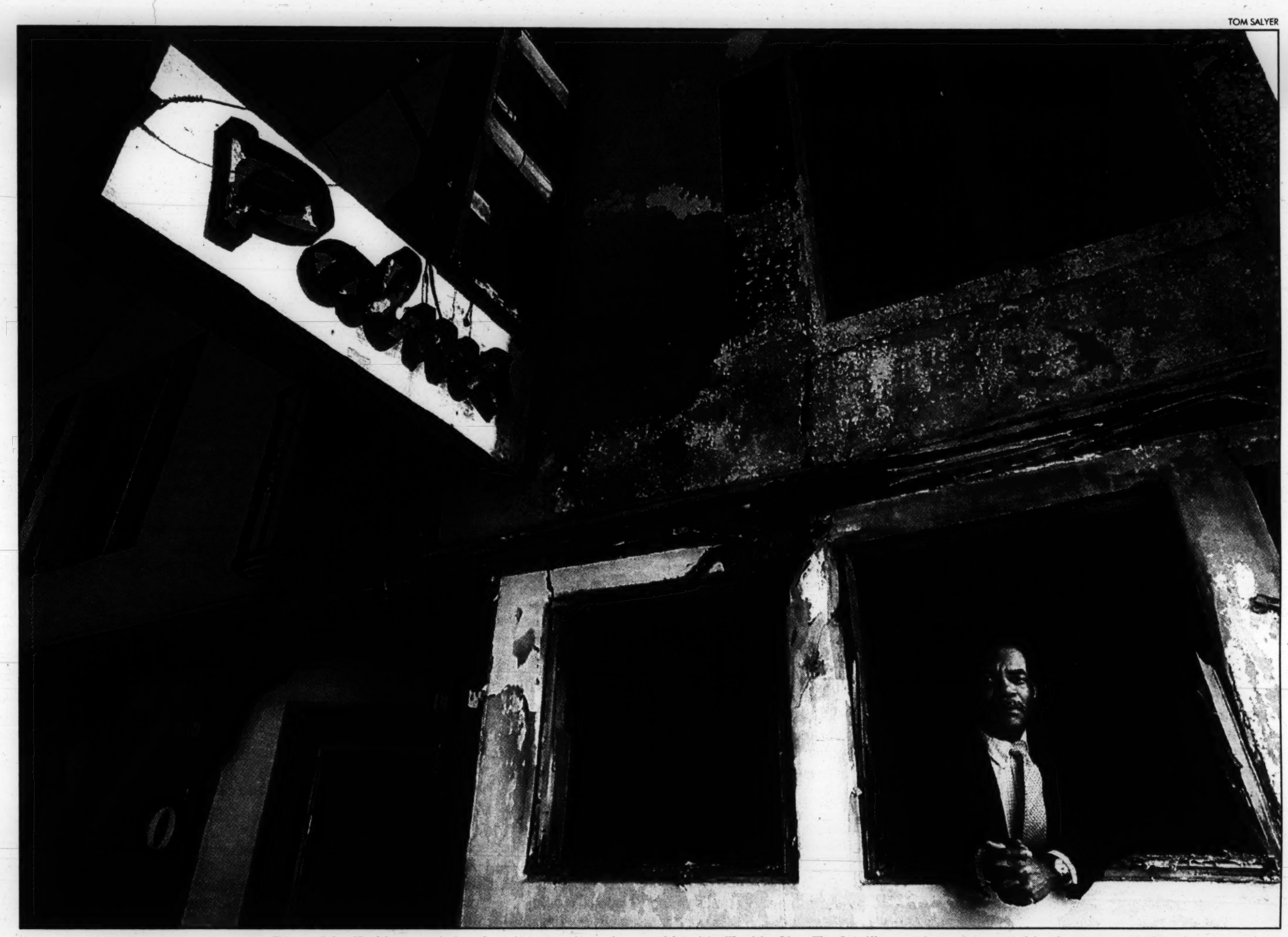


AN END AND A BEGINNING: *Pastor John Hoskins stands in a hurricane-Andrew-damaged hotel in Florida City, Fla. It will come down, but something better may replace it.*

South Florida Rebuilds

The hurricane that ripped through the area has also provided a unique opportunity to replan development

By Marshall Ingwerson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

FLORIDA CITY, FLA.

FLORIDA City – the last town on the American mainland before the rich ground descends another foot or two and the swamp becomes Florida Bay and the Keys – was no picture postcard even before hurricane Andrew hit.

In one of the poorest cities in the country, some neighborhoods had the stark, jerry-built look and several-people-per-room crowding of the third-world Caribbean.

The hurricane simply blew down the worst of it.

Therein lies the opportunity opened up in the massive post-Andrew rebuilding of South Florida: to build it back better than it was. Not just in poor patches like this one, but all over the vast, unplanned suburban sprawl south of Miami, some of the slate has been cleaned.

Andrew caused "a lot of hurt, a lot of pain," says Pastor John Hoskins, who started the Covenant Community Development Corporation recently in a bare-bulb, bare-floor, bright-yellow former Florida City nightclub. "But it has also directed a lot of funds here."

"I don't know when this opportunity will be available again," he says.

See cover story next page

Efforts to Create Communities Where There Was Sprawl

continued from page 9

COVER STORY

Cities have rebuilt themselves after natural disasters, such as the great fires in San Francisco, London, and Chicago or the earthquake in Lisbon, "and they have emerged to be much better cities," says architect and town planner Andres Duany in his office in Coral Gables at the edge of Hurricane Andrew's path.

South Dade County was following the pattern of Los Angeles in spreading out into a suburban sea without the centers or boundaries of traditional towns and neighborhoods. And because of state requirements that streets, sewers, water mains, and power lines move in ahead of development, the county could not afford more growth. Highway 1, the main north-south artery, was always jammed.

"Miami was choking on its own growth," Mr. Duany says.

When the hurricane hit last Aug. 24, the suburbs did not function as traditional towns should, he says. Without public centers, people in need did not know aid was being dispersed three blocks away because there was no obvious place to look for it.

"The performance was so awful that we really thought it would change the model," Duany says.

Planners and designers in South Florida, with the support of the main coordinating group, We Will Rebuild, have spent months trying to steer some of the rebuilding momentum into more economical, appealing, and ecologically viable patterns. More than 130 architects took part in one major post-hurricane design session alone.

Duany and his wife and business partner, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, have been so consumed in the all-volunteer effort that their 12-architect firm nearly went broke this winter. This indicates the depth of commitment from a much-in-demand couple who architectural historian Vincent Scully says have created "the most powerful and popular movement in architecture in the past 200 years."

Whether south Dade County will come back improved, after all the insurance money and federal aid are spent and reconstruction completed, says Duany, "remains to be seen."

Extent of the damage

The pull toward the status quo is powerful.

"People just want to get back to normal," says Joe Abrell, spokesman for We Will Rebuild who is on loan from an insurance company. "They have the same resistance to innovation now that they had before."

The scope of the work involved in putting south Florida back together is visible in the mountains of debris out on the edges of the Everglades from 35,000 homes and countless commercial buildings that were demolished. Another 30,000 homes sustained major damage. Total debris amounts to 30 years worth of landfill space.

In the meantime, some 30,000 people appear to have moved out of Dade County permanently, many of them to Broward, one county north. The number of refugees could be as high as 50,000.

In Homestead, one in seven businesses closed and never reopened. Because of federal rules for flood plains, 11,000 houses will have to be elevated 12 feet, at a steep cost, for owners to qualify for insurance and mortgages.

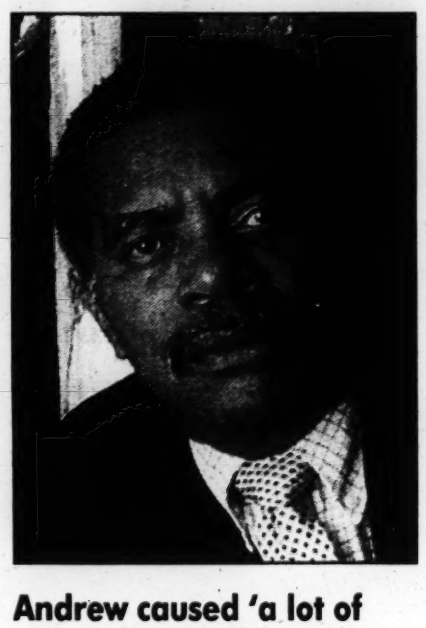
The hurricane is costing insurance companies $16 billion in claims, according to the Insurance Information Institute, wiping out 10 small insurance companies. The previous record for catastrophic losses in one year was a mere $7.6 billion in 1989, which saw both Hurricane Hugo and the World Series earthquake in San Francisco.

The federal government has committed another $9 billion to South Florida hurricane relief, although some of that amount was coming in before the hurricane.

About 18,000 homes in south Dade County were not insured at all. Church-based or religious volunteers – Quakers, Southern Baptists, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Unitarians by the thousands – have concentrated on helping these families. By last month, more than 26,000 volunteers had repaired almost 3,000 homes and rebuilt 449.

Yet only 5 to 20 percent of the repair work on hurricane-damaged homes is complete, judging from an informal county survey and Mr. Abrell's educated guesses.

Now hurricane season is less than a month away. Three major Atlantic storms are forecast, and many houses are still without permanent roofs. "It's going to be a tense summer," Abrell says.



Andrew caused 'a lot of hurt, a lot of pain. But it has also directed a lot of funds here. I don't know when this opportunity will be available again.'

– Pastor John Hoskins

Redesigning Dade County

The building where Pastor Hoskins runs the Covenant Community Development Corporation and a Marriage and Family Enrichment Center packed in 500 people the night of the hurricane, says Ethel Buckley, owner of the building and a neighborhood matron known as "Moms." She scraped her own money together for diapers and some groceries for people in those first few days.

Here in the northwest part of Florida City, most people are farm workers, many of them immigrants from the Caribbean. Three out of five are renters, so they are not getting any homeowners-insurance checks. Most of the members of Mr. Hoskins's community development corporation earn less than $12,000 a year, he says.

Poor people can least afford the modern style of development with minimal community infrastructure – that is, little public space, few public buildings, and meager public transport.

"The poor are public-realm people," Duany says.

Duany has developed a plan for Florida City based on the principles he and Ms. Plater-Zyberk have distilled from traditional American towns laid out before the advent of the automobile.

"The best thing a planner can do for affordable housing is to make it possible to live with one less car," he says, estimating the total cost of owning and driving the average car at $6,000 a year.

He identified seven neighborhoods and one industrial district. He plotted two simple bus lines, back and forth, up and down, that could enable a Florida City resident to live car-free with a public investment in just two city buses.

Each neighborhood has a center, with civic buildings like churches, schools, social services offices, or community halls. He seeks to free up some land for green commons. The aim is a neighborhood structure conducive to walking to work, neighbors keeping an eye on kids, and healthy social interaction.

He includes separate social halls for younger and older members of the neighborhood. "I don't know if that's good sociology, but that's what they wanted," he says.

Duany also worked on how the main boulevard through town might look as it fills in. Currently, Palm Drive is loosely built up with gas stations, a food mart, a well-fenced motel, and fast food outlets.

But this realm of cinder block and sheet metal, says Duany, "at its best was like Key West," with its subtropical, clapboard-and-veranda, old Florida style. From talking to local elected officials, owners, and residents, he says, he gleaned that Florida City wants to look like Key West again.

The town also has what Duany says is a virtually untapped river of wealth running through it. Every year, 1.3 million tourists drive down Palm Drive into the Everglades National Park. Another half million turn left toward the Atlantic for Biscayne National Park. Still another 6 million tourists pass through heading south to the Keys.

"All in spending mode," he says of the tourists. "We want to hijack some of that traffic."

Close by Florida City in the larger, wealthier town of Homestead, the James Rouse-backed Enterprise Foundation is sponsoring a separate design in the same spirit as Duany's.

The design of a commercial "Pioneer Quarter" seeks to create a stronger, more attractive sense of place and a civic center by starting with existing buildings that are intact or salvageable, then designing "in-fill" buildings and creating new street patterns.

Homestead faces either the closing or substantial downsizing of an Air Force base that employed nearly a third of the population. Nevertheless, the thrust of the design work is to "make the city better than it was before," says Ed West of the Enterprise Foundation.

Further north, in the unincorporated suburban expanse of south Dade, architect Suzanne Martinson is working to convert Caribbean Elementary School, which will be razed and rebuilt, into the main civic building in an ethnically mixed, working-class neighborhood of stucco bungalows.

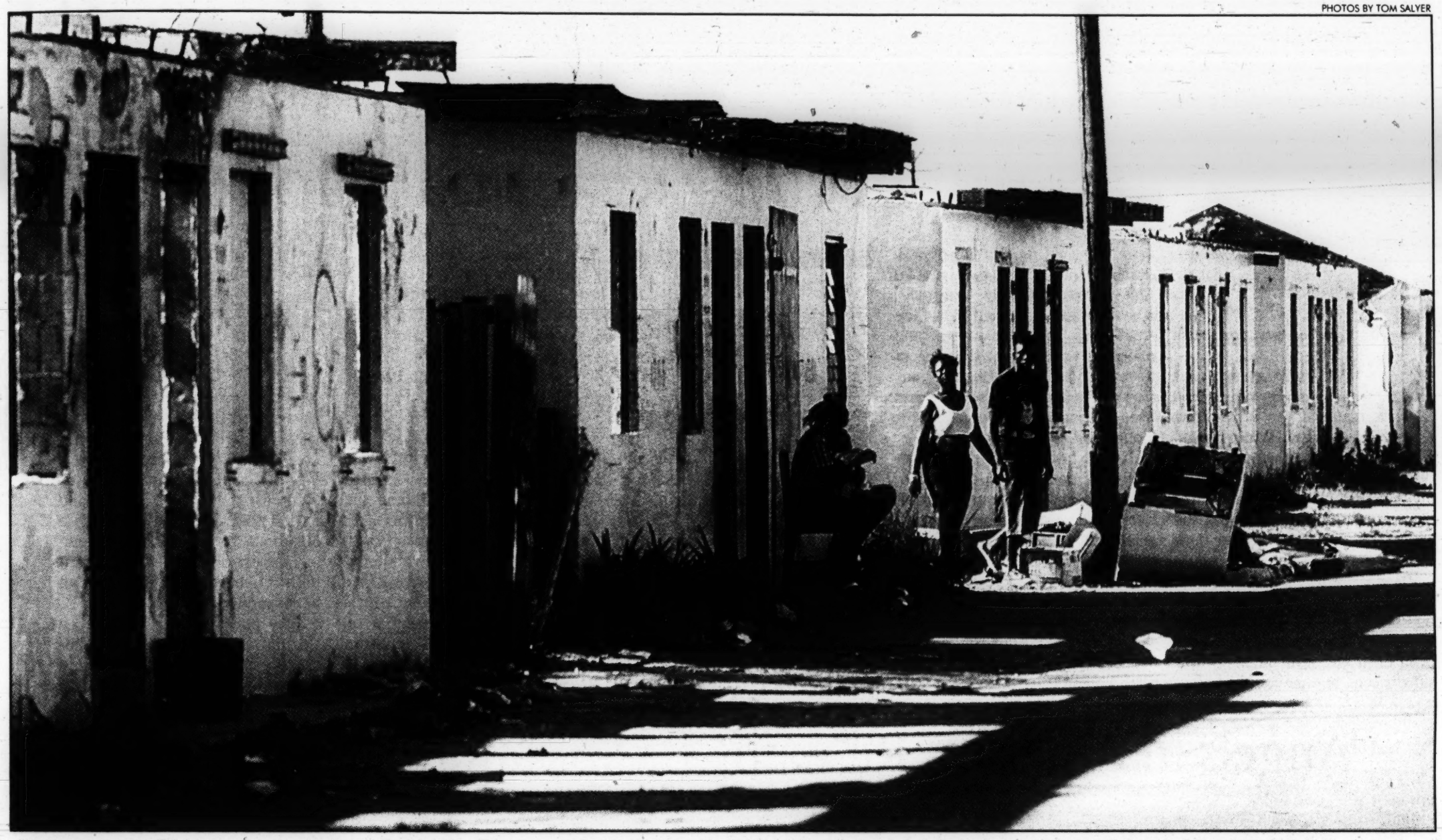
Ms. Martinson seeks to use the social areas of the school to "enliven" and "engage" the neighborhood. The school cafeteria becomes a grand building open to other uses after school hours, including as a hurricane shelter. It fronts onto a public green where an apartment building now sits that has been taken over by a federal lending agency. The library also is open to the neighborhood.

These plans already need to change, because the federal agency has decided it wants to salvage the apartment building. And neighbors will shift it in other ways. Leaders of the local homeowners' association reacted against the design until they gradually assumed control of it. Now they invite Martinson and her fellow architects to their meetings.

The Dade County School Board

PALM DRIVE – 1995

PHOTOS BY TOM SALYER



HURRICANE'S SCYTHE: *This duplex housing project in Florida City, Fla., was smashed by Andrew. Most of the units are abandoned. Redevelopment plans call for rebuilding dozens of similar projects.*

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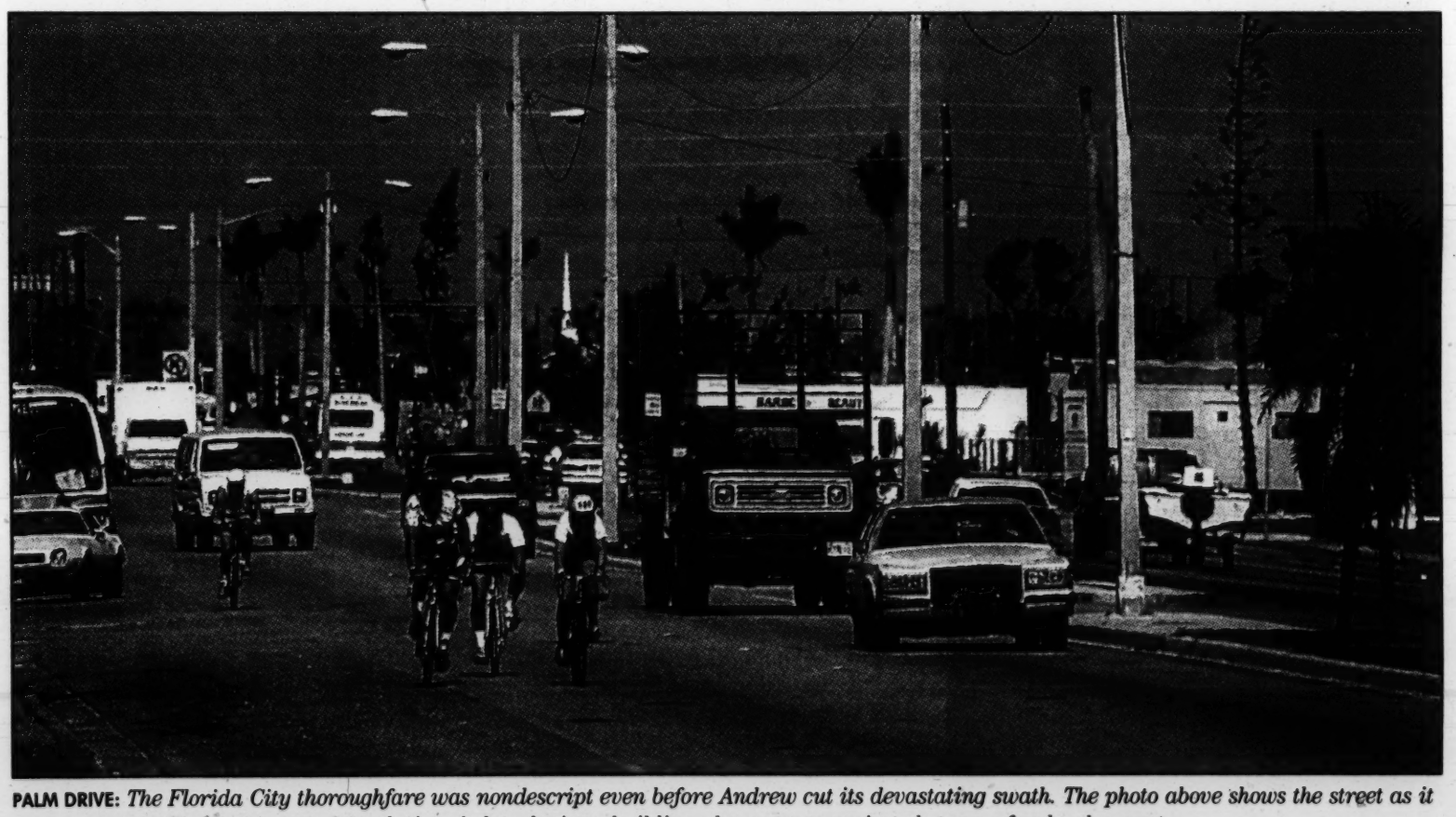
is already committed to spending $7.3 million to rebuild the school, and board members are eager to see neighborhood adults drawn into the school with social services from adult education to prenatal care offered in the school building.

"This is going to happen," says Martinson, estimating it will take about three years. "In my experience with the bureaucracy, the one who's going to get things rolling is the one who hangs on the longest."

She adds: "The hurricane was a bad thing, but it really brought this neighborhood together."

Down in Florida City, Hoskins notes that an "incredible amount" of houses will be built here. Pointing out the front door to young men hanging out, he says he hopes they will be more than just spectators at all the construction.

Referring to all the volunteers and free advisers, he says: "We want them to help us get the money and help us do it. We don't want them to come down, get the money, and do it for us."



PALM DRIVE: *The Florida City thoroughfare was nondescript even before Andrew cut its devastating swath. The photo above shows the street as it appears today. The architectural renderings below depict rebuilding plans at two projected stages of redevelopment.*

DUANY & PLATER-ZYBERK, CORAL GABLES, FLA.

PALM DRIVE – 2005

THEATER

In 'Those the River Keeps,' David Rabe charts the underworld of a guilty conscience

A Hoodlum in the Existential Mode

By April Austin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

MAFIA ruthlessness and machismo have provided material for a numbing array of plays, movies, and books. The mob holds a fascination for dramatists who seek an environment in which the worst instincts of men are cultivated, giving the writer permission to explore dark realms of human behavior.

In David Rabe's new play, "Those the River Keeps" (produced as part of the American Repertory Theatre's New Stages program), the mob plays a subsidiary role, but has a strong presence nonetheless. The story concerns a former hit man named Phil (played by Paul Guilfoyle) who has yanked himself out of the New York gangster scene and moved to California with hopes of becoming an actor. He has married a much younger woman and lives in comparative peace in a Hollywood bungalow.

In his head, Phil tries to rewrite his past brutal escapades, but guilt and self-condemnation rise to the surface in countless small and large ways. He's insecure and restless, and can't explain to his wife why he doesn't want to have a child.

One day an old mobster buddy shows up, reigniting Phil's fears that he is permanently attached to the mob and escape is useless. Sal (Jack Willis) urges Phil to join him for a West Coast hit mission, and harangues Phil for being too domestic.

THOSE THE RIVER KEEPS
Drama written and directed by David Rabe. Presented by the American Repertory Theatre's New Stages. At the Hasty Pudding Theatre through May 19.

The title "Those the River Keeps" refers to a Mafia practice of slitting the bellies of victims to keep the bodies submerged when dumped after the killing. Rabe uses it as the obvious metaphor for Phil's fear of being mired in his old personality and ending up like his former victims. Phil, as the character is written (and as he is played by Guilfoyle) is a hoodlum in the existential mode. He spouts philosophical speeches on the pointlessness of life as if they were a mantra that could restore his flagging self-esteem.

This is where the difference lies between other Mafia buddy stories and "Those the River Keeps." Phil has an active conscience and it is tearing him apart. He hates and despises Sal and yet can't bring himself to reject the exploits the two shared. He loves his wife but can't prevent himself from hurting her.

As with many existential heroes, however, Phil's constant harping on the fact that life is essentially meaningless gets tiresome. Playwright Rabe needs to trim chunks of the dialogue, or risk turning off the audience he has wooed into Phil's corner. The bad-mouthed braggadocio that Phil and Sal engage in (which seems to be *de rigueur* for macho dramas along the lines of David Mamet's "Glengarry Glen Ross" or Brian DePalma's "Scarface") quickly becomes stultifying. One moment Phil is talking in Mafia-ese about "broads" and bars, and the next he's driveling on about some childhood memory or other. Rabe seems to want both a believable ex-thug and an introspective one.

The play's energy is powered by funny and pugnacious one-liners. It's mostly the put-down kind of humor, but it's a welcome break from Phil's self-absorption. And there are moments where the overall stage busyness comes to a halt and emotions surface, as when the two men stumble into a touching dance together that later disintegrates into violence.

GUILFOYLE brings an amiable offhand charm to the role of Phil. Midway through, however, the actor loses his footing when he is forced to show the violent side of his character. The uncorking of Phil's anger is problematic because Guilfoyle has, up to that point, played him more as a philosopher than a killer. The sense is lost of a hit man who thinks with his fists and then ruminates on his bloody past.

The other actors are quite capable in their roles, but Jack Willis should watch against being typecast as a fast-talking bad guy with the Jack Nicholson sneer. Rebecca Tilney, as Phil's young wife, Susie, has some acting limitations to overcome but seemed to grow more confident as the evening wore on. And American Repertory Theatre regular Candy Buckley uses her acid-tongued delivery effectively as Susie's older and more cynical friend, Janice. The set design by Loren Sherman deserves particular notice for capturing the California vernacular architecture.

Because of Rabe's considerable reputation (he wrote "Hurlyburly" which ran on Broadway in 1984 with William Hurt, Christopher Walken, and Sigourney Weaver), and the basic strength of his writing, "Those the River Keeps" is certain to wend its way to New York before long. It's an interesting, if not thoroughly engrossing, piece of theater.

'Angels in America' Remains Earthbound

JOAN MARCUS

AMBITIOUS ATTORNEY: *Ron Leibman powerfully portrays the hypocritical lawyer Roy Cohn, who faces disbarment and AIDS in the drama, 'Millennium Approaches.'*

By Ward Morehouse III
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

PART I, MILLENNIUM APPROACHES
Drama by Tony Kushner. Directed by George C. Wolfe. Scenery by Robin Wagner. Costumes by Toni-Leslie James. Lighting by Jules Fisher. At the Walter Kerr Theatre.

"MILLENNIUM Approaches," as the first play of Tony Kushner's "Angels in America" cycle is called, is a harsh, shattering drama about futile struggles for love and power.

The play, which won this year's Pulitzer Prize for drama, has a power and boldness seldom seen on Broadway, but its homosexual themes may eliminate it from some theatergoers' agendas.

Ron Leibman's performance as the late Roy Cohn (best known as the chief counsel to Sen. Joseph McCarthy in his Senate investigations of communism in the 1950s) is spectacular. Leibman plays the power-hungry attorney in a nervous manner that also has remarkable subtlety.

Director George C. Wolfe has done an exceptional job of tying together the diverse scenes into a single play. But he seems to go beyond what the script calls for in depicting sexual situations and nudity for their shock value. In several instances, Kushner's words would have been more moving if they were simply stated without embellishment.

"Millennium Approaches" follows three interweaving plots. In one about a gay couple, a man with AIDS is abandoned by his companion. Another strand of the plot involves attorney Cohn desperately trying to hang onto political power in the face of disbarment and AIDS. And a third story follows the disintegration of a heterosexual marriage when the husband acknowledges his homosexuality.

Yet even in the play's darkest moments, some of Kushner's characters have strength and humor that transcend their dire circumstances and even some of their most strongly held convictions. They seem to struggle for a sense of peace and well-being that eludes them.

In one example, Cohn manages to put aside self-interest long enough to help a young man gain influence in Washington politics. Playwright Kushner also tempers his scathing portrait of Cohn by giving him a sardonic and sharp sense of humor. In describing former United States Attorney General Edwin Meese, Cohn says: "He doesn't specialize in the fine points of the law."

Kushner's play sometimes seriously flounders, especially in scenes between the married couple. Some of the dialogue is wooden and forced. Yet "Millennium Approaches" has moments that reveal how good theater can be. These occur when the characters look beyond their own needs, but these moments are few and far between.

■ *Part 2 of "Angels in American," called "Perestroika," will be staged in repertory with Part 1 in the fall.*

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

'REMBETIKO': *Kostas Ferris's 1983 film, part of a series, tells the story of a popular female singer in prewar Greece.*

Greek Film Retrospective Reveals Country's Rich – and Rocky – Past

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

"TODAY, so many centuries later, we recognize the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' as the first image-producing factories."

So writes commentator Andreas Tyros, linking the heritage of ancient Greek literature and art with the thoroughly modern tradition of filmmaking. It may sound like an odd connection at first. Yet many of ancient Greece's finest achievements are deeply visual – the Parthenon and the Homeric poem appeal to the eye, or to the mind's eye – and many a filmmaker has drawn on Greek ideals for inspiration, consciously or not.

Mr. Tyros's comment appears in the catalog for "CineMythology: A Retrospective of Greek Film," the first exhibition to present an overview of Greek cinema in its huge variety. Soon to begin an international tour after its two-month run at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) here, it's a festival studded with major stars such as Melina Mercouri and Irene Papas, whose charismatic charms have boosted the reputation of Greek film around the world.

Yet it's also a serious examination of social, cultural, and political issues that have coursed through Greek movies throughout their history. Few national cinemas have been more strongly buffeted by turmoil in the society around them. And few have boasted a greater array of artists willing to grapple with those events – either directly or by exploring the human values that lie behind them – and transform these into aesthetically meaningful forms that reach out to audiences everywhere.

"Greek film has an obsession with reinterpreting history," says program organizer Jytte Jensen.

"The films are fascinated with the social and political events of their country, and with the individuals living in that setting. I don't know of any other cinema – except German film, perhaps – where the concern with specific social and political events is so striking," she adds.

This is due largely to the tumultuous nature of modern Greek history, from the disruptions of World War II and the Greek civil war to the period of military rule in the 1960s and an economic crisis that nearly killed Greek cinema during the '70s.

FILM

Another deep concern has been the transition of Greece from an agrarian to an industrial society. "The social fabric started coming apart at the seams, and this had a great effect on filmmaking," Ms. Jensen says.

Running just beneath the turbulent surface of Greek life, however, has been a constant awareness of the centuries-old Greek heritage. "There is a tendency there to measure life by ancient history and ideals," Jensen says. "So in many films there is a prevailing atmosphere of longing for an innocence and beauty connected with those ideals. This often brings despair and tragedy.... But it's frequently a *heroic* tragedy."

An example of this is the 1954 classic "Stella" with Ms. Mercouri as a spirited woman longing for a liberated life. "There's a duality between her energy and exuberance," Jensen says, "and the tragedy that comes to her. It's inevitable, because her ideals – her search for the right way to live – just can't be achieved in that society."

Jensen made her selections for the retrospective by sifting through an enormous range of films made in various styles, genres, and historical periods, doing much of her work in Athens at the official Greek archive.

Highlights of "CineMythology" range from "The Ogre of Athens," a ferocious 1956 tragicomedy that echoes Kafka and anticipates Fellini, to "A Foolish Love," a 1981 drama that recalls the Hollywood classic "Rear Window."

Among the most celebrated filmmakers on the program are Theo Angelopoulos, with his moody "Voyage to Cythera" and other films; Michael Cacoyannis, represented by "Stella," the classical "Iphigenia," and other work; and Jules Dassin, whose rollicking "Never on Sunday" is perhaps the most widely popular Greek film of all time.

■ *After June 14, 'CineMythology' travels to the Pacific Film Archive at the University Art Museum in Berkeley, Calif.; the Film Center at the Art Institute of Chicago; the Cleveland Museum of Art; the Museum of Fine Arts in Houston; and other locations in the United States, Canada, England, and New Zealand.*

Fresh Reminders On Population Crisis

ONE has to look hard for ways in which to lump the relatively rich United States together with poorer Third World countries. But they are quite similar in one critical area impacting the environment: population growth.

This is one key conclusion to be drawn from the recent annual survey of the Population Reference Bureau, which reports that the US population growth rate (0.8 percent a year) is four times that of Europe and nearly three times that of Japan.

Such figures are in line with US Census Bureau projections that show this country's population climbing from today's level of 255 million to 383 million – and perhaps to as high as 500 million – in less than 60 years. Part of that increase has to do with immigrants entering this country at a rate unseen since the early part of this century – about 900,000 a year, or 1 out of every 100 people added to the world's population. Picture US public spaces a couple of generations hence with twice as many people.

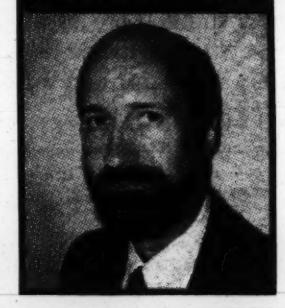
Still, population growth rates in Western industrialized countries remain well below those in Asia, Latin America, and sub-Saharan Africa. There, where very large numbers of young people are entering their reproductive years, growth rates of 2 percent to 3 percent mean a doubled population in fewer than 30 years.

By coincidence, noted ecologist Garrett Hardin's new book, "Living Within Limits" (Oxford University Press), was published just two days after last week's world-population report.

Looking at present rates of consumption in a world of finite resources, he calls for tough measures: closing borders to immigrants from countries where governments are unwilling or unable to control population growth; limiting food aid in similar situations; subsidizing birth-control clinics.

Government coercion may be necessary, Mr. Hardin writes, "if nature is to be kept from controlling population by her own more brutal means." Above all, he asserts, overpopulation must be treated at the local level; unlike other major environmental issues, such as climate change, it can't be solved internationally.

BRAD KNICKERBOCKER



Hardin is not as misanthropic or xenophobic as I make him sound in citing his more controversial conclusions. He does favor international aid to help countries help themselves control population. Such aid is likely to increase under the Clinton administration and from other advanced countries as the world approaches the United Nations Conference on Population and Development in Cairo next year.

Even stabilizing world population at double the current level of 5.4 billion people "would require a massive and immediate international effort to implement family planning and development programs known to reduce birthrates rapidly," writes Sharon Camp, senior vice president of Population Action International in the spring issue of Foreign Policy magazine.

Dr. Camp notes that the number of couples of child-bearing age is increasing by 18 million a year, but that meanwhile the "unmet need for fertility control affects somewhere between 90 [million] and 160 million couples."

There is evidence that government action to control population is beginning to pay off in some places. Each year recently, Population Action International has been publicizing five countries having the most success in this regard.

The "population picks" for 1992 were Indonesia, Bangladesh, Iran, Peru, and Zimbabwe. Each was cited for making "impressive, recent progress in expanding access to family planning services," which has resulted in smaller average family size. Countries so recognized in 1991 were India, Thailand, Colombia, Morocco, and Kenya.

Yet much remains to be done. The typical Bangladeshi woman now has four children compared with seven a decade ago – but with more than 100 million people packed into an area the size of Wisconsin, Bangladesh remains the most densely populated country in the world. Iran's "renewed political commitment to rebuild family planning services .... may be one of the country's best-kept secrets," the report states, but the typical Iranian woman still has six children.

And because of birth rates and immigration, it's possible that this generation of American children will live in a country twice as crowded by the time they are grandparents.

RUSSIA from page 1

This is also the view of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international aid agencies that are in charge of distributing the Western aid package agreed to this spring.

The IMF wants Russia to bring inflation, which was running at a monthly rate of 21 percent in March, down to 5 percent a month. An IMF team is presently in Moscow negotiating the terms for dispersal of the first half of a special $3 billion fund recently created, which offers somewhat easier terms than usual.

Officially these aims are shared by the industrialist wing of the government, which is led by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, a veteran manager of the Soviet gas industry who replaced Mr. Gaidar.

"A tough anti-inflationary policy is our urgent task," Mr. Chernomyrdin told a meeting of regional legislators May 12. He pointed to recent figures showing some slowing of inflation and vowed to stand by an agreement reached earlier this year with the central bank to limit the growth of centralized credits to 30 percent in the second quarter of the year, 20 percent in the third quarter, and 15 percent in the fourth.

But even this less-than-stringent position is treated with skepticism by some observers here. "I don't think there is any chance they will keep inside those limits," says a well-informed Western economic adviser.

The level of state subsidization of the economy is beyond the scale of even third-world economies. According to estimates for 1992 prepared by the World Bank office here, budget-financed subsidies accounted for 22 percent of the country's entire gross domestic product. Half of those subsidies go to agriculture. Additional subsidies come from credits provided by the central bank, bringing the total to around a third of GDP.

Fyodorov cites the example of the coal industry, which he says received subsidies of at least 2 trillion rubles (around $25 billion), amounting to 20 percent of total budget revenues. Coal prices, like those of oil and gas, remain controlled at low levels, making the huge subsidies necessary.

Premier Chernomyrdin acknowledges the need to free coal prices and to raise the prices of other fuel and energy resources.

But Oleg Soskovets, the newly appointed deputy premier with responsibility for major industry including energy, argues that the metals industry and other coal consumers cannot afford to pay higher prices.

For Chernomyrdin and his supporters, the approximately 20-percent drop in production that has occurred during the last year, and half since radical market reforms were introduced, is a catastrophe. "Reform won't work unless we start producing," Chernomyrdin said in a recent speech. "Not even the harshest monetary and credit policy will stop inflation unless we fill the market with goods."

"They have a different vision of a reform economy and the reform process," says the Western adviser of the industrialist wing of the government.

Under the direction of newly appointed Deputy Premier Oleg Lobov, a long-time Yeltsin aide from the days when the Russian leader was head of the Communist Party in the Urals industrial city of Sverdlovsk, the Ministry of Economy is attempting a partial return to its old role as Gosplan, the State Planning Committee.

The Economics Ministry has drawn up a comprehensive plan, through the year 1995, which seeks to set priorities for the distribution of credits to selected enterprises. The plan drew heavy fire from reformers when it was discussed at a Cabinet meeting last Thursday and has been sent back for amendment.

Chernomyrdin also favors a privatization process that would transform the existing system of giant enterprises into vertically integrated combines organized as joint stock companies. The oil industry, for example, is being organized into three huge state-owned firms, controlling everything from wells to refineries and distribution.

"There are clear signals that the ministries are striving for control over the process of privatization and especially ... the controlling interest in shares in order to try to restore the traditional mechanisms of industrial management," Gaidar wrote on Wednesday in Rossiski Vesti.

Gaidar insists that he was never offered a new job in the government, though informed sources say he in fact turned down a position as deputy premier. Perhaps tellingly, Gaidar told the daily Izvestia recently, "If I am needed only as a cover to persuade somebody that reforms are going on, it doesn't suit me."

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF/FILE

MUSCOVITES FACING RECESSION: *Output has fallen about 20 percent since radical market reforms were introduced.*

CONGRESS from page 1

deemed to be against the interests of public safety. For example, it would not have provided legal cover for cult leader David Koresh, who allegedly stockpiled illegal weapons and had sexual relations with underage girls.

But it might have produced different outcomes in some cases since the Smith ruling or deterred some prosecutions altogether. In one case, a Michigan judge ruled that a Jewish woman's rights were not violated when the state medical examiner ordered an autopsy – not permitted in some cases under Jewish law – on her son, who had been killed in a car crash.

In another case, the United States Supreme Court vacated a ruling by the Minnesota Supreme Court allowing the Amish to refuse to display orange traffic-safety emblems on their buggies. (Subsequently, the Minnesota court ruled again in favor of the Amish.)

Regarding the practice of Christian Science, which relies on spiritual healing over medical treatment, the law could afford some protection. State laws that would require Christian Science parents to take children to physicians may be difficult to enforce in cases in which a child does not have a serious illness, because the state would not have a "compelling interest" in intervening, says Robert Peck of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Religious Freedom Restoration Act

- Requires government to have a "compelling interest" to justify restriction of religious practice.
- Government must show it is acting in the "least restrictive" way in carrying out its obligation to uphold a law.
- Bill does not define what constitutes a religion or valid religious belief, leaving that up to the courts.

Government intervention

"It's likely that parents would not be convicted in such cases," Mr. Peck says. However, he adds, in cases in which a child has died, the government could easily prove a compelling interest in intervening.

Christian Science church officials are hopeful that the law will have a deterrent effect in discouraging state intervention against the practice of the religion. The law could help "reverse a dangerous trend in our society of skepticism toward religion and the practice of religion," says Phil Davis, the church's federal representative.

Though the law enjoys wide support in Congress, it has taken the three years since the Smith decision to get it through. The biggest sticking point was the abortion issue, and it was the Roman Catholic Church that pressed it. "The church was concerned the law provided a loophole that could have allowed for abortions," says Deacon Chris Baumann, Catholic Conference spokesman.

In other words, the church wanted to make sure that a woman seeking an abortion could not use the law to argue that religious beliefs should allow her to end her pregnancy. This point was more relevant before the Supreme Court's reaffirmation last year of Roe v. Wade, which guarantees a woman's right to abortion. President Clinton's opportunity to replace an anti-abortion Supreme Court justice with one who favors abortion rights makes the church's concern even less relevant.

The church dropped its objection when the House Judiciary Committee inserted language in its report stating that the bill does not allow for abortion as a "free exercise" of religious belief.

Supporters of the bill suspect that the legislation languished under President Bush because he was caught between the Catholics who opposed it and the evangelicals who supported it.

Another issue that has held up the legislation is concern that religious-freedom claims could cause problems for prison officials seeking to maintain order and discipline. Those raising this concern want to ensure that the law does not make it more difficult for prisons to reject frivolous or insincere requests by prisoners. Some famous cases include prisoners who claimed that they must be served Chateaubriand every Friday or students who claimed that their "Church of the Green Frog" membership should exempt them from the draft.

Bill called burdensome

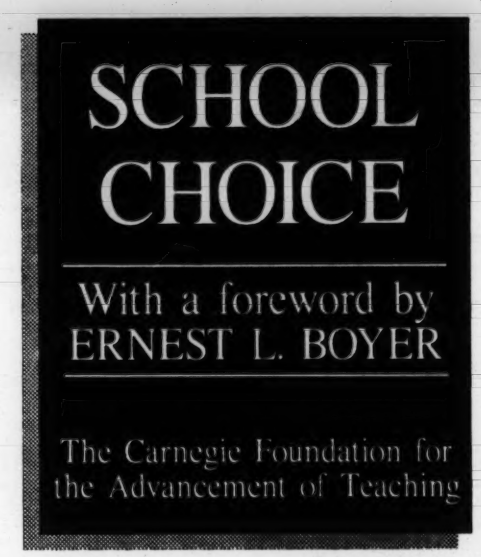
Sen. Alan Simpson (R) of Wyoming was the sole opponent of the bill when the Senate Judiciary Committee approved it last week. "I feel I want to respond to the concerns of half of the attorneys general in the country," he says.

In a letter to members of Congress, 25 state attorneys general expressed concern that the religious-freedom bill would unduly burden prison administrators; they called for an amendment allowing them greater leeway in rejecting prisoner demands for religious practice.

In a May 5 letter to Sen. Joseph Biden (D) of Delaware, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, US Attorney General Janet Reno wrote that she believed an amendment was unnecessary, citing a 1987 Supreme Court case that held that a prison regulation impinging on religious exercise was "valid if it reasonably related to legitimate penological interests."

Proponents of the bill worry that an amendment could kill the legislation, since it would open floodgates to demands by other groups. "The Religious Freedom Restoration Act does not ensure the automatic right" of people to do whatever they want in the name of religious freedom, says J. Brent Walker, associate general counsel to the Baptist Joint Committee, which led nearly 60 groups in a Coalition for the Free Exercise of Religion to support the bill.

IN PERSPECTIVE



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"The urgency of this topic is apparent. In the current school reform debate, choice has moved to the top of the national agenda. Clearly, the time has come to step back and examine how school choice is working.

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Ernest L. Boyer

President, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching,
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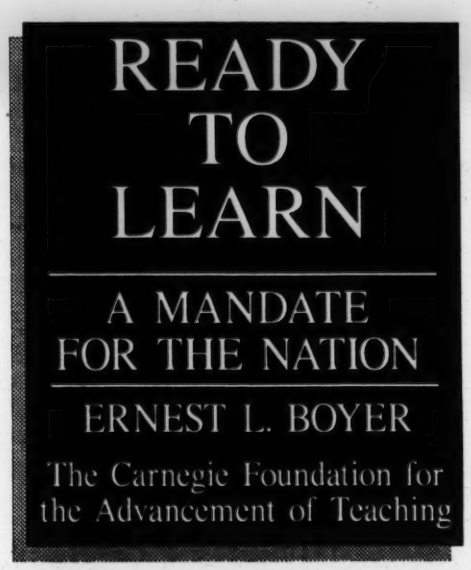

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"Perhaps the most important national report of the last year came from The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In my opinion, Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation is a landmark document.

"The Carnegie Foundation's seven-step program is a solid, prudent, and essential call for action. It runs the gamut of needs, from improved health care to universally available preschool. What is required first, however, is some courageous national leadership that has vision enough to commit the resources and the energy needed to make this most urgent mandate a reality."

Larry Hayes

President of the Education Writers Association,
Editorial Page Editor of the Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette,
and News Views Editor of Phi Delta Kappan

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The Home Forum

Past, Present, and Future in Bronze

THE horse, as Italian sculptor Marino Marini (1901-1980) once put it, "is rapidly becoming a kind of lost myth." He was talking about "the ancient relationship between man and beast" and how "the horse has been replaced, in its economic and military functions, by the machine...."

But the aesthetic function of the theme of horse and rider has continued to have vitality. Marini, more than any other modern artist, has explored and exploited this. He was certainly aware of the theme's loss of significance but also of its past history in art as a symbol of heroism, regality, strength, and energy, as well as an emblem of fashionable elegance or pathos. In fact, his treatment of this subject depends on the past for its feeling and expression. It is not a modern theme.

Within the development of his own sculpture, he moved from comparative Naturalism to an increasingly broken and inchoate Expressionism, in which the balance of the relationship of riding man and ridden horse breaks down almost entirely. It is true to say, however, that even his earliest horses and riders had an unsettled or unsatisfactory partnership, even if they were rather motionless and quiescent. They were never striving, as, say in the horse paintings of Théodore Géricault, to match each other's vigor and dynamism, never investing each other with grandeur.

"My own work," Marini wrote, "has followed a general trend in its evolution, from representing a horse as part of the fauna of the objective world to suggesting it as a visionary monster arisen from a subjective bestiary."

Increasingly, the horse and rider became for Marini a means of expressing his feelings of anxiety and tragedy. Paradoxically, therefore, the "lost myth" must have retained sufficient potency as a symbol of classical grace and stability for it to withstand the explosive dissolution to which he subjected it. So, while recognizing its diminishing meaning, he was actually adding to its mythological significance.

Early in the 20th century, a number of Italian artists, calling themselves "Futurists," had launched what amounted to an assault on the traditional imagery of art (which included the horse), celebrating instead, with anarchic gusto, the advent of the machine. This attack on the conventional past was carried out with exuberance and little sense of the tragic. Indeed, it was a kind of heroic stance, if somewhat destructive.

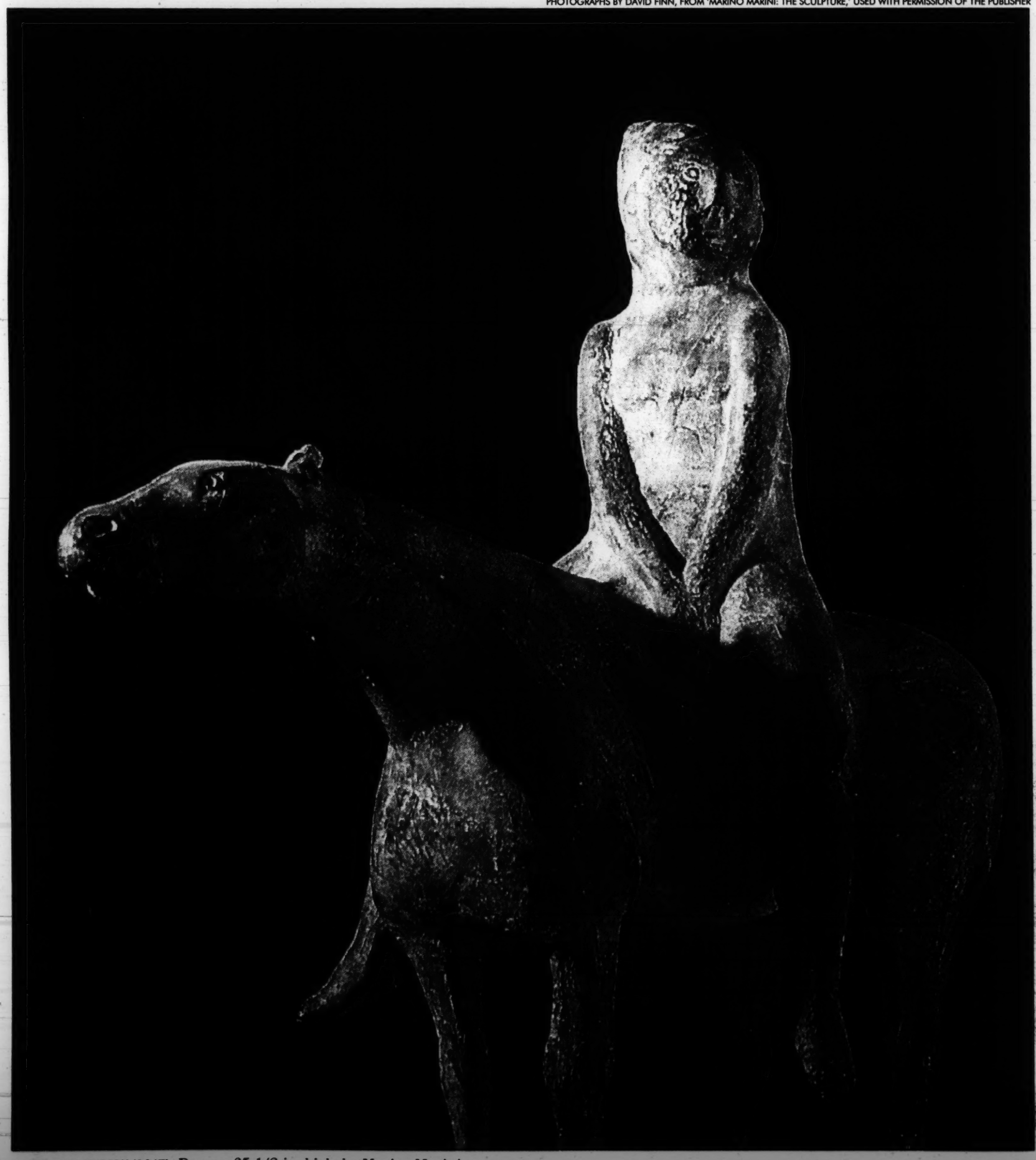
But in Marini's art, reaching its maturity much later in the century, the disappearance of the past is a matter of regret or even despair. It is humanity becoming separated from nature. As art critic and historian Sam Hunter writes in a new book on the artist,

MARINO MARINI: THE SCULPTURE
Text by Sam Hunter, Photographs by David Finn
Harry N. Abrams Inc.
223 pp., $75

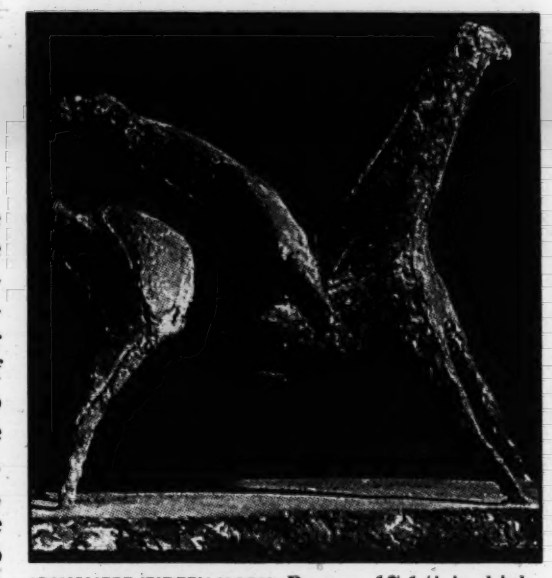
Marini's "evolution from the heroic to the tragic ... began around 1945, at the close of the war...." It was, certainly, part of a wider *Angst* that gripped the art world in the aftermath of the war – its most obvious cause being the destructive potential of the atom bomb and the consequent stalemate between world powers known as the Cold War. Sculptors in particular seem to have felt this anxiety in their work.

In Marini's case, it became an absorbing passion. The reactive bonhomie of the 1960s and that period's lightly satirical ditching of the gloom of the post-war pe-

PHOTOGRAPHS BY DAVID FINN, FROM 'MARINO MARINI: THE SCULPTURE,' USED WITH PERMISSION OF THE PUBLISHER



'CAVALIERE (RIDER)' (1947): *Bronze, 35 1/2 in. high, by Marino Marini.*



'CAVALIERE (RIDER)' (1951): *Bronze, 17 1/4 in. high, by Marino Marini.*

riod was not for him. While new forms of sculpture were surfacing that sometimes seemed like wellsprings of confidence rather than accumulations of despair, Marini continued to pursue what must have seemed a lonely path. Although himself a sociable, open-hearted character, he believed his art had to express a deep disquiet. It had never been part of some trend or fashion; it was always personal, unlike anyone else's. His dialogue was between past and present – the past he was most engaged with being Etruscan and Roman.

In Hunter's book about Marini – "Marino Marini: The Sculpture" (photographs by David Finn) – the sculptor's strong interest in the past is made clear. He is quoted as saying: "I like going to the source of things. I am interested in a civilization at its beginning. I have always looked for the part that was the kernel of a civilization, for example the Etruscans."

Etruscan sculpture was the most ancient art belonging to the northern part of Italy where Marini was born, and its rediscovery was (he wrote) "something of great importance in local life" during the first 50 years of his life. He was also much drawn to the archaic period of ancient Greek sculpture that was more primitive and less refined than the later period, but he still found Greek art "too serene." In Etruscan art he noted "some human quality" absent from Greek art. Marini, for all his reduction of humans (and horses) to depersonalized forms is still capable of a touching tenderness – a "human quality." His work can be unexpectedly poignant.

There is another factor that also contributes to this poignancy. Sam Hunter's text points to this, and many of David Finn's texturally sensitive photographs make the point too: There is something fossil-like about many of Marini's sculptures. It's as if they are "remains." His small bronze of a boxer might have been unearthed – in a wonderful state of preservation – from some ancient tomb. His most extreme and roughly shaped horses and riders are like something left over after a mass destruction.

"If the whole earth is destroyed in our atomic age," Marini said, "I feel that the human forms which may survive as mere fossils will have become sculptures similar to mine."

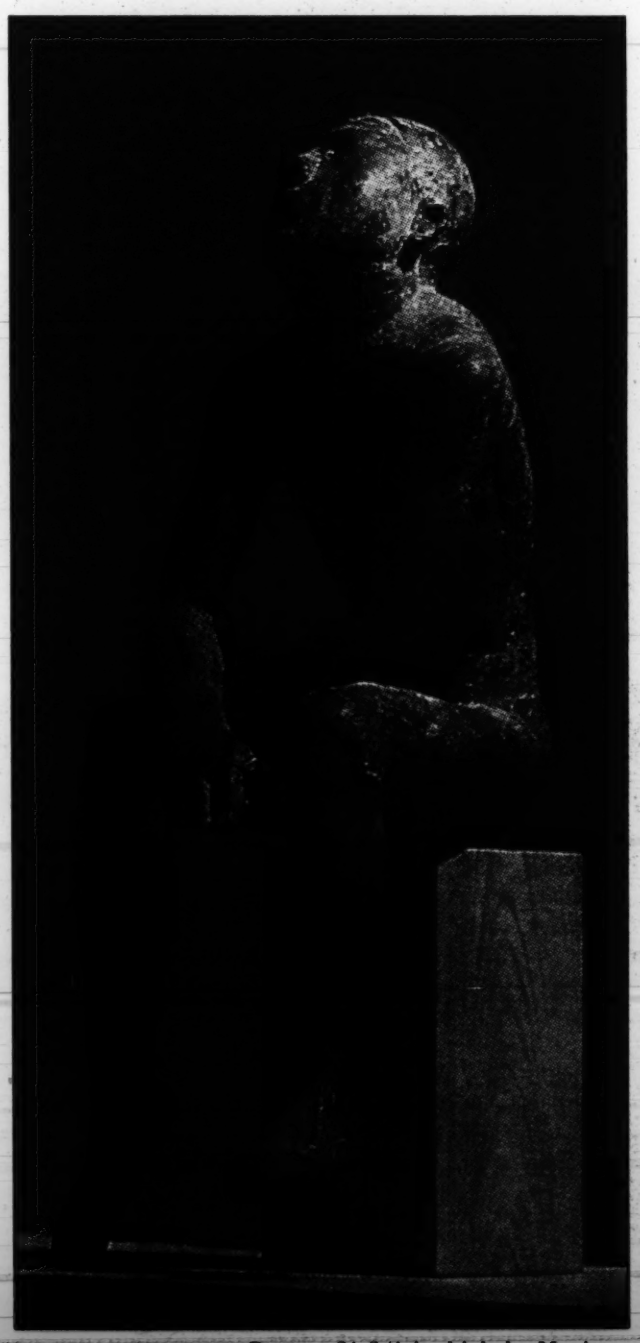
But again it was to the past, rather than the feared, imaginary future, that the sculptor turned for inspiration.

"If you really want to find the sources of my present style in antiquity, I must confess that you will find them in the remains of the life of the past rather than in those of its art," he said in the late 1950s. "The fossilized corpses that have been unearthed at Pompeii have fascinated me far more than the Laocoon group at the Vatican."

In this, Marini belongs firmly to the 20th century. The Laocoon was viewed as an epitome of classical sculpture in earlier centuries, a symbol of struggle against impossible odds, certainly, but an image of heroism all the same. Marini's art concerns itself with no such Baroque strength of purpose or extravagant contortion of design, but still it has a sense of pity and pathos.

The Pompeian remains of figures do have a particular emotiveness, because they seem to be living moments so instantly stilled, without warning or preparation, by the smothering descent of lava from Vesuvius. Oddly, they have the air of extraordinary survival. Marini's sculpture, though intent on self-destruction, also contains some such redeeming quality. Its vitality appears strangely irrepressible.

Christopher Andreae



'PUGILE (BOXER)' (1935): *Bronze, 24 3/4 in. high, by Marino Marini.*

Of Giants and Dwarfs

"THERE! Finished! And in record time," I thought to myself, as I rested my saw and brushed the sawdust from my jeans. I'd just completed framing a long and complex interior wall for a house. Boy, was I proud! Later, a veteran carpenter—a friend and mentor—ran his grizzled, gnarled fingers over about a dozen little mistakes I'd made in setting my "record." He looked over at me, his eyes twinkling. "Doesn't take much to be a dwarf at anything!" he said. "To be a giant in this business takes careful thinking and loving hands!" He was challenging me to do better work.

Of course, being a giant—or dwarf—the way my friend meant has nothing to do with physical stature. He was urging me to have a grand mental approach to the work rather than a tight, hurried one. And since then I've extended the image to having a grand and expanding view of ourselves rather than a smallish one. The Bible presents a solid basis for this when it describes God, divine Mind, as creating "man in his own image." Throughout the Bible, the word *perfect* is used in describing God. God's work, His way, His law, His knowledge—all are perfect. And Christ Jesus' counsel to us is recorded in Matthew's Gospel: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

God is divine Spirit, and His perfection is not in material terms—it is in spiritual terms. But this spiritual perfection is tangible and real. It can be felt and seen in ways that make a real difference in our daily lives. Why is this? Because God made man as His spiritual image and likeness; and the understanding of man's spiritual perfection has a transforming effect on human character.

The life of Christ Jesus provides unquestionably the best example of how understanding man's spiritual nature changes our lives. The Master's healing works illustrate the effect of knowing and demonstrating what is true and good and right about man. Such an understanding made him a spiritual teacher and healer. He was indeed a giant at what he did.

Mary Baker Eddy, the Founder of the Christian Science Church, catches the rich spirit of Christ Jesus' grandeur when she writes of him in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures:* "Through the magnitude of his human life, he demonstrated the divine Life. Out of the amplitude of his pure affection, he defined Love. With the affluence of Truth, he vanquished error."

Of course, there are no easy shortcuts in learning to be giants in what we do. Still, a few things are certain. We need a grand thought of who we are—a thought whose model is found in this perfect man that Christ Jesus presented. And we need a solid understanding of our own God-given worth—worth that we have because God made us. Hand in hand with our intrinsic spiritual worth is the conviction that we have a God-inspired and God-directed contribution to make through our work, whatever it may be. Lastly, to demonstrate man's spiritual stature, we need to love serving God and man. It is only love that can inspire the necessary energy and self-discipline for us to learn how to do our work better. Thinking of ourselves in terms of the grand way in which God creates man is not headiness or ego. When it gives glory to God it actually bolsters humility, strength of purpose, and resolve.

Making God's grandeur the cornerstone of our lives begins and continues with our seeking out the truth of God and man as the Bible presents it. We must be willing to allow this truth to strip us of habits of wrong thinking that would mask this heavenly grandeur. This practice, bit by bit, allows us to put off smallmindedness and to reflect the Mind of Christ in our lives.

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Perception of Leadership

LESS than six months into his presidency, Bill Clinton is still working to solidify his role as the political leader of the world's remaining superpower.

In an interview with the Washington Post published May 14, Mr. Clinton noted that "there is a sort of permanent government here, but there's also a permanent political culture. And I have to learn – it is my job as president to learn to make the most of that instead of letting it make the most of me."

He looks to be a fast learner. The knocks taken during the defeat in March of his modest economic stimulus package – knocks largely due to his own team's political heavy-handedness – have led to the victory in the House Ways and Means Committee May 13 of his $246 billion, five-year tax increase, a key element in his deficit-reduction package. The package is expected to clear the full House next week. It faces difficult, but not insurmountable, problems in the the Senate, particularly in the Senate Finance Committee.

The president and his team are striving to strike a balance between the substance of leadership – helping to develop and implement proposals to meet challenges that the nation confronts – and the perception of leadership, a vital tool in any leader's political utility belt for building a consensus behind those proposals.

A balance is critical to his efforts to solve domestic problems such as the deficit, the sluggish economy, and the high cost of medical care. It also could be critical to solving what he has called the most pressing foreign-policy problem be faces: the war in the former Yugoslavia.

The road to regaining that balance largely begins at home. His poll ratings are unenviable: A USA Today-CNN-Gallup survey released May 14 recorded a 10-percentage-point drop in his approval rating in one week. But that could turn around as he continues to focus on the issues that got him elected, especially deficit reduction and health-care reform.

Stronger public support for him in general could strengthen his hand on Yugoslavia, where his calls for arming the Bosnian Muslims and conducting selective bombing raids have met with stiff opposition from Western European countries.

As far as perceptions go, the Europeans have Clinton over a barrel: Privately, leaders say that if Clinton acts, they will follow. Unfortunately, their occasionally imperious public positions could lead to a self-fulfilling notion at home of the Clinton team as unable to establish itself with key allies, especially compared with President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker III. This is hardly a selling point to Americans, whose support Clinton says he needs for military action. Americans may be more willing to back him if they see action taken on what they feel are more pressing concerns.

Alcohol and Automobiles

ALCOHOL abuse cost Americans nearly $92 billion in 1991 – money drained out of the economy through lost productivity, alcohol-related crimes, and treatment programs. By 1997, that cost is expected to rise to $124 billion, a 35 percent increase.

These sobering figures come from a new study by researchers at the University of Southern California. The report's one bright spot is that the number of alcohol-related motor vehicle accidents dropped about 60 percent between 1985 and 1991. Equally encouraging, the researchers forecast a 90 percent decline by 1997, largely because of successful publicity about the dangers of drinking and driving and because of stiffer drunken driving laws.

Yet it is too early to relax vigilance. Tragedies such as the recent death of Sen. Strom Thurmond's daughter Nancy, who was struck by a drunk driver as she crossed a street, serve as reminders that the quest for alcohol-free roads is not over.

In some cases, tough penalties must be made even tougher. As one way of deterring repeat drunken drivers, Gov. William Weld (R) of Massachusetts is calling for legislation that would increase the minimum sentence after five offenses from six months to five years. It also would increase the maximum fine from $1,000 to $50,000 and revoke drivers' licenses for life after a fifth conviction.

Experts on alcohol abuse warn that even the toughest sanctions will not deter hard-core drinkers. One Massachusetts man was arrested last month for the 20th time on drunken driving charges. Although his license was revoked in 1973, and although he had just been released from prison for a previous conviction, he defied the law.

Even if people like this seem beyond education, punishment of repeat offenders may be part of the education necessary to prevent the next generation from mixing alcohol and automobiles. Keeping innocent people from being injured or killed because of alcohol abuse remains an important national goal, both on and off the highways.

Perks and Journalistic Ethics

Should reporters make full disclosure about access, gifts?

By Kenneth R. Walker

MY favorite briefcase – of Italian design and luxurious leather – was a present from a dictator: Suharto of Indonesia, to be exact. Members of the White House press corps, which I once was, used to get gifts like these whenever they accompanied presidents to nondemocratic nations.

The only thing reporters got from democratic governments was a hard time; the more democratic, the harder the time – which is as it should be. Ferdinand Marcos, by the way, gave the best presents of them all.

This quaint practice came to mind with recent reports of a fight at ABC. The network's "Prime Time Live" magazine news broadcast carried a report on congressional junkets financed by the Electronics Industry Association. A controversy ensued over whether co-anchor Sam Donaldson should disclose to viewers that he had taken a fee for a speech he gave the association several years ago.

One network executive reportedly argued that "it was unfair to bring Sam's speech before 30 million viewers and make it seem like he was part of the story when it was strictly apples and oranges." Roone Arledge, president of the news division, overruled the objections and in mid-broadcast ordered the disclosure for the end of the program.

Mr. Donaldson is by no means unique in this practice of journalists, accepting large honoraria from business and other interest groups in exchange for "speeches." One of the perks long known to go with a network assignment to the White House is a huge increase in speaking fees. Big-time print and broadcast reporters heatedly deny that these fees have any influence on their reporting. In the cases I've observed first hand, they are largely correct. Indeed, I have worked in close quarters with Donaldson and have found him to be just about the most conscientious, fair, and aggressive reporter I've known.

But the real issue is full disclosure. And it seems appropriate that viewers of news broadcasts deserve to know that the reporter got slipped maybe $20,000 some time back for an hour's worth of remarks before the group that is the subject of the news report. That $20,000 – the going rate for top journalists on the lecture circuit – may have had no more corrupting effect than the petty bribes Suharto handed out. But both practices ought to stop and, failing that, need to be disclosed.

MORE difficult to discern or reveal are the relationships that prominent journalists develop with people they're supposed to be covering. Many journalists, from the White House on down to City Hall, often live near, socialize with, romance, marry, and even exchange jobs with people they're supposed to be covering. One network journalist – one of the best reporters I've ever known – daily covers national economic and fiscal policy while living with the chairman of the Federal Reserve. In network circles, this is viewed as a good thing. It may be, in terms of access. But who can argue that the viewer doesn't deserve to know that?

Pentagon spokesman Pete Wiliams, who led the press down the primrose path through two wars, is now joining a network as a news correspondent. What a lot of news organizations seem to be forgetting is that the coin of our realm is not access, or popularity with newsmakers. It is credibility with those who read and view the news. Once we've spent that, we have nothing.

■ *Kenneth R. Walker, an independent television producer in Washington, is a former White House correspondent for ABC.*

LETTERS

Not All Ranchers Live High on the Hog

Congratulations on the balanced front-page article "Babbitt Wades Into the Debate on Western Land," May 4. However, the reference to the General Accounting Office report on the 500 largest holders of grazing permits may lead to unfounded conclusions. About a year ago a similar GAO report surfaced. The report was released with a flurry of press coverage to create fervor and raise the grazing fee. A spot check of the "Big 500" revealed that many of the listed ranches were exaggerated in size by as much as 600 percent. One of those tycoons lives in my home town. He supplements his ranch income with a job as a lineman for a rural telephone co-op.

The reports make much of the fact that large, wealthy insurance companies own a number of ranches that utilize federal grazing, suggesting that greedy corporations have undue access to a perceived competitive advantage. Yet if those ranches owned by insurance companies were such gold mines, they wouldn't have been repossessed, nor would they be for sale for 60 cents to 70 cents on the dollar.

Those reports are just two of a long list that further confuse this issue at the taxpayer's expense.

Shirley P. Baumgartner ***Glasgow, Mont.***

Finding politically correct wood

In the article "Beyond the Forest Summit," April 22, the author refers to the Forest Stewardship Council as an organization that will certify forest products. The Forest Stewardship Council itself will not directly certify forest products. Rather, the FSC is an international, independent, nonprofit organization that seeks to accredit certifiers, based on economically viable and environmentally sound forest management practices.

Jamison Ervin ***Burlington, Vt.***
Coordinator, Forest Stewardship Council

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.

OPINION / ESSAYS

Leadership is often stymied in attempts to speed process by members' desires to serve narrow constituent interests

US Senate Needs to Streamline Methods

By Steven S. Smith

THE demise of President Clinton's economic stimulus package brought to public attention the peculiar rules of the United States Senate. The Senate has no general rule that limits debate. Instead, it has Rule 22, which requires three-fifths of all senators – 60 in the current Senate – to vote to close debate. And the Senate has no general rule that requires that amendments to legislation be germane to the pending legislation.

In recent years, these rules have fueled hyperindividualism and petty obstructionism in the Senate. Pressured by lobbyists and eager to demonstrate their commitment to key constituency groups, senators have abused their parliamentary privileges and undermined the role of the Senate as a policymaking body.

The change is reflected in the number of times the cloture motion – a motion to close debate and bring a matter to a vote – has been subjected to a vote. The period from 1919 to 1970 saw a total of 50 cloture votes – less than one a year. The 1971-92 period saw 295 – more than 13 a year. The 102nd Congress, 1991-92, set a record with 48 cloture votes. Even the motion to take up a bill on the floor is now subject to obstructionism. From 1977 through 1982, only six cloture votes on the motion to proceed to the consideration of a bill took place; in 1991 and 1992, the Senate cast 35 such votes. These numbers only scratch the surface of obstructionism that is commonplace in today's Senate.

In this year of political reform, it is time for senators to take stock of their institution and adopt essential changes in their rules. The current rule allows three-fifths of all duly elected and sworn senators – 60, if all seats are filled – to invoke cloture, except on matters pertaining to Senate rules, for which a more stringent two-thirds majority of those present and voting is required. Rule 22 is not strong enough. Its unfortunate effects are seen every day in the Senate's dependence on unanimous-consent agreements and the perverse practice of holds.

Since before the Civil War, Senate floor action on major legislation has been governed by formal unanimous consent agreements. In the modern Senate, the majority leader seeks unanimous consent to bring a bill to the floor and often seeks consent to structure debate and action on agreements. In the absence of general rules limiting debate and amendments, unanimous consent is the only recourse. So a simple request for unanimous consent to limit debate or amendments is the standard approach. Dependence on unanimous consent to lend some order to floor activity also means that a single senator can upset the leader's plans. Consequently, the majority leader consults with the minority leader and other interested senators before seeking consent on all but the most routine questions. In recent decades, this process of anticipating and recording objections has become institutionalized. Well-understood routines are in place for senators to register objections, reservations, and concerns about requests to take up bills, nominations, and even treaties.

The registered objections are known as holds, reflecting their potential effect on legislation. Most holds delay floor consideration of legislation. Rather than risking objections to his unanimous consent requests, or a filibuster, the majority leader usually attempts to get the objecting senator to release a hold.

As recently as the early 1960s, senators did not threaten filibusters with much frequency. They tended to reserve the filibuster for the most important issues. For Southerners, this meant using the filibuster against civil rights legislation and some labor legislation, but little else. Senators did not use holds with much frequency or effectiveness.

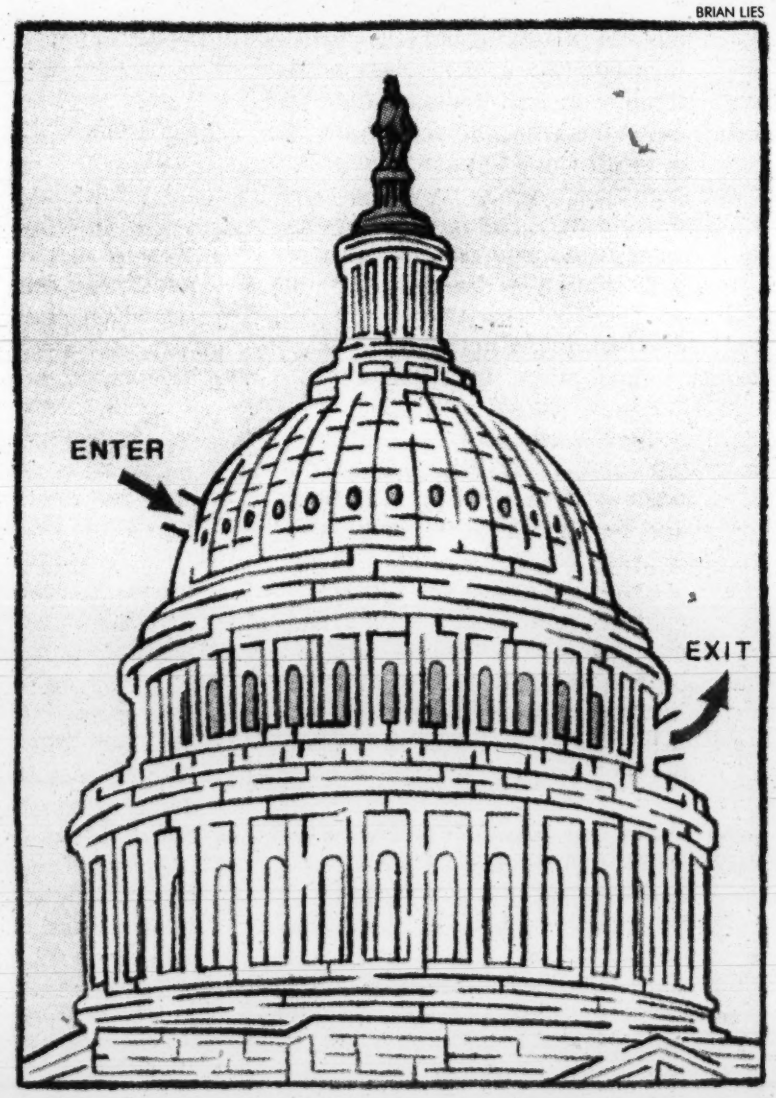
But as the political world changed so did Senate behavior. Senators responded to their new world by taking on more committee assignments, expanding their staffs, adding travel funds, and upgrading their office technology. Their schedules are now shaped more by personal agendas: campaign needs, interest-group demands, personal staff, obligations to meet constituents, speaking trips. And more trips home, state-based offices, polling, and constituency mail have made senators more sensitive, even hypersensitive, to public opinion. Extreme individualism is the result.

The external orientation of many senators has radically altered floor politics in the Senate. Pressed by constituents and lobbyists, and motivated to grab a headline, senators now more routinely and more fully exploit their procedural prerogatives than at any other time in the Senate's history. Filibusters, multiple amendments, and holds are all-purpose tools to gain leverage over committee chairmen, the leadership, and the administration. To cope with these circumstances, the majority leader is forced to conduct extended negotiations with the minority leader, and sometimes more than a dozen senators, to get routing bills before and through the Senate. He must spend hour after hour negotiating closing agreements that make the Internal Revenue Code seem simple. The agreements represent the effort of the majority leader to lend some predictability to floor action, expediting final action on bills by preventing obstructionism whenever possible, minimizing the effect of a filibuster on the consideration of other legislation, and juggling several pieces of legislation on the floor simultaneously – all while being sufficiently accommodating to gain unanimous consent.

In order to keep other legislation moving while some bill is being filibustered, the majority leader often seeks and receives consent to temporarily set aside the filibustered bill. But this reduces the pain inflicted on senators by a filibuster and increases their chances of success. The net effect may be to encourage filibusters.

Recent majority leaders – four in a row – have announced that holds are not binding on the leader and represent nothing more than a request for advance notification of floor action. These pronouncements have made little difference. Despite their frustration with holds, all four leaders found it convenient to observe holds most of the time. Why? For one thing, the incentives for senators to abuse their parliamentary prerogatives are strong. Campaign contributors, lobbyists, and even the administration continue to reward senators who do their bidding. And the Senate's ideologues care little about inconveniencing their leaders and colleagues. An edict from the majority leader does not change this condition. Teaching the Senate a lesson by forcing action against the will of a senator or two is likely to be a lesson that lasts only a few days. In any event, alienating a few senators by spitefully ignoring their holds may cost too much in subsequent cooperation to be worth the effort. Their support is needed for even the most routine of the leader's unanimous consent requests.

BRIAN LIES



The bottom line: A changing political context has made dysfunctional many rules and practices that once seemed well adapted to senators' individual purposes and the Senate's collective needs. Even leaders with the greatest intellects, creativity, and perseverance have not prevented the Senate from deteriorating as a policy-making body.

In the next few months, the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress will be devising proposals to improve the operations of the House and Senate. The Joint Committee should propose three sets of reforms for Senate floor procedure:

First, a simple majority should be allowed to adopt a motion to proceed to the consideration of a bill or conference report. Moreover, a simple majority should be allowed to bring debate to a close after a lengthy period of debate, say three days. The right to debate and offer amendments should be protected; the right to avoid direct votes on important matters should be eliminated.

Second, a simple majority should be able to put a bill or resolution on "a straight track," a limited period of time, during which debate would be limited and amendments must be germane to the legislation. Before and after the Senate considers legislation on the straight track, senators' current rights would be preserved. Most debate on legislation would occur in a more controlled and predictable setting.

Third, holds should be reduced by making it more difficult for a single senator to object to a floor leader's request to call up a measure, limit debate, or limit amendments. The objections of at least five senators should be required in order to block such a request. If this were done, along with curbs on obstructionist quorum calls, the disruption caused by personalistic holds would be reduced.

Senate procedures have undermined the chamber's special policymaking functions. Now is the time for us to insist that the Senate act to reform itself. But there is no reason to be optimistic about the prospects of meaningful reform. After all, any significant reform proposal will be filibustered. Reform is possible only if the public demands that the Senate change its ways.

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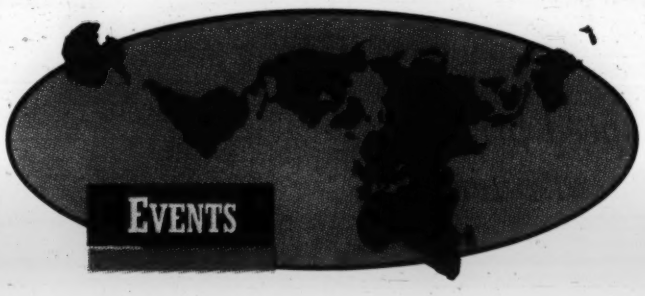

BUDGET MAY FACE PROBLEMS IN SENATE
The House of Representatives is poised to pass a complex bill implementing President Clinton's economic plan, but the measure faces a tough fight in the Senate, where Republicans call it long on taxes and short on spending cuts. In addition, a package of "new investment" spending on education, roads, and other projects requested by Mr. Clinton faces opposition in both chambers because lawmakers will have to cut existing programs to fund the requests. Senate rules do not allow a filibuster of the overall tax and spending bill. But the Democratic margin on the Senate Finance Committee is a narrow 11 to 9, and the energy, or Btu, tax is not embraced by all Democrats on the committee.

US policy on Bosnia

Clinton says his threat of military force to halt the war in the former Yugoslavia "is still on the table" despite opposition from European allies. But he emphasized the United States would not act alone. Clinton said Friday he would "keep pushing in the right direction" with a dual policy for the arming of Bosnian Muslims and limited bombing of Serb artillery. "It has not been rejected out of hand," he said.

US weighs nuclear test ban

President Clinton's top aides are wrestling with the question of whether to resume nuclear weapons tests when a nine-month moratorium expires July 1. Key administration officials who attended a White House meeting Friday failed to reach agreement on whether Clinton should allow renewed tests after the end of the moratorium ordered by Congress last year. They also failed to reach a consensus on whether Clinton should permit testing beyond 1996, the date when Congress bans US testing unless another country conducts such a test.

Approval of Clinton falls

Several recent national surveys have shown a drop in Clinton's public support and rising anxiety about his proposed tax increases. A USA Today-CNN-Gallup poll released Friday, for example, put Clinton's approval rating at 45 percent, down 10 percentage points from his 100-day rating less than three weeks ago. But the president says his administration won't fall victim to worrying about sagging approval ratings and that there's an easy explanation for the decline: "I'm trying to do hard things."

German strike may be over

The board of the German metalworkers union on Saturday approved a wage pact designed to end a strike and prevent an all-out labor battle that could have further damaged Germany's recession-battered economy. Rank-and-file union members will vote on the deal today and Tuesday, and if 25 percent of them approve the pact, metalworkers and steelworkers in eastern Germany will return to their jobs on Wednesday.

Afghan fighting continues

Government jets bombed positions of renegade guerrillas in the southwestern suburbs of Kabul yesterday as fierce fighting continued in the Afghan capital. The palace, headquarters of the defense ministry, was captured by maverick guerrilla groups after heavy combat erupted Wednesday. Since then, the International Committee of the Red Cross said 2,500 people have been treated in Kabul's shell-damaged hospitals and more than 500 killed.

After the standoff in France

Six toddlers freed after 46 hours as hostages at a nursery school spent Sunday in quiet seclusion with their families, while a portrait emerged of their slain captor as a quiet man dogged by failure in love and business. The ordeal, which ended Saturday, in the affluent Paris suburb of Neuilly-Sur-Seine shocked the nation. Newspapers mused whether France was becoming like the US, which the French view as a nation of excessive violence.

Royal transcript a hoax?

After days of frothing in London's newspapers over an alleged transcript of Prince Charles arguing with Princess Diana, two Sunday newspapers said it's a fake. The Sunday Times quoted an unidentified official at the palace as saying: "It is completely made up. It's laughable. But the prince is very angry at being a pawn in a tabloid circulation war."

– Compiled by Max Boot

STAR WARS PROGRAM ENDS

Balkans: Exploiting Old Animosities

BALKANS from page 1

Christianity was barely tolerated.

None of the subsequent development of Western and Central Europe – the growth of guilds and the middle class, the decline of feudalism, the Reformation and Counterreformation, the Renaissance and the Enlightenment – touched the Balkans.

By the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire was in serious decline. Most of the Balkan ethnic groups began to agitate for independence and their own states. But their villages were often scattered among each other.

Little by little each group threw off Turkish rule. Russia felt a special calling to help its Orthodox Slav brethren, the Serbs and Bulgarians, and provided political or military support.

The rule of the Balkans is: Everything for my ethnic group and nothing for yours. The group on top governs at the expense of the others.

But the rule of the Balkans is: Everything for my ethnic group and nothing for yours. The group on top now governs at the expense of the others; the groups out of power wreak vengeance when the power balance shifts. People see themselves as Serbs, Romanians, or Albanians first and as individuals second.

This attitude is preserved by the region's economic backwardness and low educational levels. It is especially true in rural areas. While cities may be ethnically mixed, villages usually are ethnically pure, or nearly so.

After the Turkish and Austrian Empires collapsed at the end of World War I, the victorious Allies carved up the remains into a series of new, artificial Balkan states. The southern Slav groups were lumped together in what became Yugoslavia. Serbia was the dominant partner, which led to constant friction with the Croats. The new country never had a chance. Nazi Germany invaded in 1941 and set up a fascist Croatian puppet state. Its Ustashe troops committed terrible atrocities against Bosnian and Croatian Serbs. Serbian nationalist guerrillas, the Chetniks, retaliated in kind.

Communist partisans under Josip Broz Tito, armed by the Allies, fought the Germans to a standstill, broke with the Chetniks, and took power at the end of the war. Communist rule under Marshal Tito kept a tight lid on ethnic feuding, but it continued to smolder. When Tito died in 1980, he left in place a collective presidency of Yugoslavia that rotated among the six republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro.

But without Tito's personal magnetism and willingness to use force, the system soon began to break down. After communism collapsed in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the Yugoslav federation began to dissolve as Croats and Slovenes demanded independence, partly in pursuit of historic aspirations but also in fear of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's repression of the Albanian minority in Kosovo. Mr. Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman made things worse by their inflammatory rhetoric and their policies of grabbing land from neighboring republics, to create a greater Serbia and a greater Croatia, and to expel other groups.

The region remains a tinder box: Greeks are nervous about the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia; Montenegrins, still united with Serbia in a rump Yugoslavia, are growing restless; and serious tensions persist between Hungarians and Romanians.

The most dangerous area is Kosovo province in Serbia. A Serbian heartland, it is now inhabited mostly by ethnic Albanians, who have seen their rights suppressed by the Milosevic government. Almost half the Albanians in the world live in Serbia; should the Serbs start an ethnic-cleansing campaign, it is doubtful Albania could stand by. Such a conflict could ignite tensions between Greece, which likely would side with the Orthodox Serbs, and Turkey, which would support the Muslim Slavs and mostly Muslim Albanians.

The question now is whether the US can provide the leadership that will take the Balkans in the direction of peace or whether the region will sink deeper into disaster.